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JOHN ERNST MATZKE

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MATZKE MEMORIAL VOLUME

CONTAINING TWO UNPUBLISHED PAPERS

BY

JOHN E. MATZKE

AND

CONTRIBUTIONS

IN HIS MEMORY

BY

HIS COLLEAGUES

(WITH PORTRAIT)

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PREFACE

Soon after Dr. Matzke's untimely death the Stanford Philological Association decided to publish a volume dedicated to his memory, which should contain his unpublished studies and, besides, papers contributed by his Colleagues of the Philological Departments.

Most of Dr. Matzke's unpublished longer articles are being published in scientific journals, as indicated in the accompanying Bibliography, but it is our privilege to present here, by permission of Dr. Matzke's widow, two of his most important papers. The one on Gaston Paris was read by our friend immediately after the death of his great master, and will never be forgotten by those who heard it. The second paper was given as the President's Address before the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast and was to be printed by the author himself after revision.

Among the papers of his colleagues was to be inserted one by Dr. Fairclough on "Some Aspects of Roman Slavery," but, unfortunately, ill health kept the contributor from completing it in time for insertion in this volume.

Editorial Committee:

Ewald Flügel, *Chairman,*
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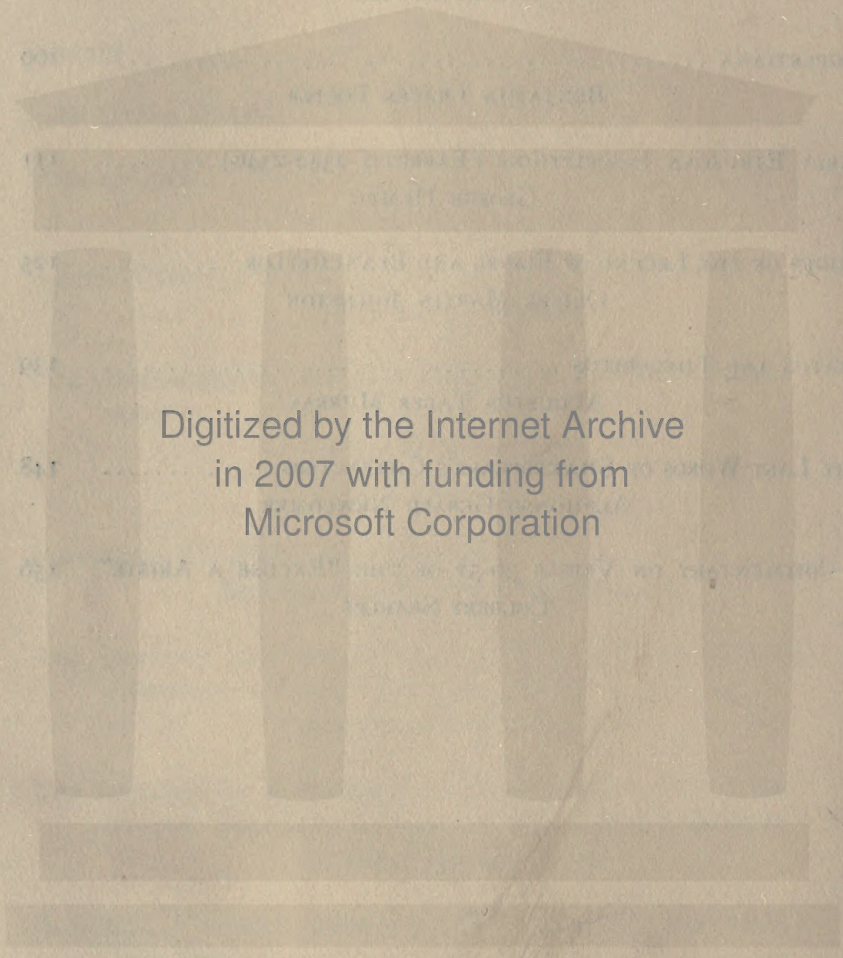

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JOHN ERNST MATZKE was born in Breslau, Germany, October 20, 1862. He came to this country when he was fifteen years old, and finished his collegiate education at Hope College, Holland, Michigan. After receiving the Doctor's degree at the Johns Hopkins University in 1888, he was professor for one year in Bowdoin College, and one year in the University of Indiana, associate for two years in the Johns Hopkins faculty, and during the remaining seventeen years of his life was professor of the Romanic Languages in the Leland Stanford Junior University. From 1899 to 1904, the five years following the organization of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, he was secretary and treasurer of the Association, and also served as its president during 1908-09. He died September 18, 1910, in the City of Mexico, where he had gone to represent Stanford University at the inauguration of the National University of Mexico.

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GASTON PARIS

[Paper read before the Stanford Philological Association, April 15, 1903]

JOHN ERNST MATZKE

ON MARCH 16, 1894, it was my privilege in this very room to read a paper before the Philological Association on *Diez and the Study of Romanic Philology* in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of the founder of our science. I little dreamed then that ere a decade had passed away we should be called upon to mourn the loss of the greatest of the great master's pupils. In the division of tasks which we have assigned, it has fallen to my lot to say a few words on the personality of the man.

The name Paris is a name worthy of reverence by all devoted to the study of the language and literature of the Middle Ages. If ever there was an instance of the influence of heredity and early environment, it was here. Gaston Paris, administrateur of the Collège de France, became in 1872 the successor of his father in the chair of Medieval Literature at that institution, and the work which the father had made illustrious was rendered famous by the greater son. The elder Paris had begun his labors in this field in 1824 with a pamphlet entitled *Apologie de l'école romantique* and was appointed incumbent of the newly created chair at the Collège de France in 1853. The son took up the work where his father laid it down and continued it to the 5th of March, 1903, with even greater vigor and fertility. The name of Paris stands thus for eight decades of uninterrupted labor, and the sum total of the result, the additions to human knowledge, it is scarcely within the power of a single mind to appreciate.

Gaston Paris was born at Avenay in the Champagne on August 9, 1829. His early studies were carried on in the Collège Rollin in Paris, where he graduated in 1856. By that time the path of his future labor was already definitely outlined. In 1857 he went to Germany, first to Bonn where he came under the direct influence of Diez, and the following year he spent in Göttingen under the teaching of Ernst Curtius. He was attracted to him through a love for classical antiquity, and though his own later work lay in lines quite apart from this division of philological science, yet the rigorous method and the inspiration gained there, have left their definite traces. After his return to Paris in 1858, he entered the École des Chartes, where he received in 1861 the diploma as archiviste-paléographe, at the same time presenting as thesis his first important

publication, the *Étude sur le rôle de l'accent latin dans la langue française.* In 1863 he translated into French the introduction to Diez' *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen.* In 1865 he passed the examination for the doctorat ès lettres. His Latin thesis was entitled *De Pseudo-Turpino,* his French thesis was the epoch making work on the *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne,* a study on the Old French epics on Charlemagne and the national poet, which has been the basis of all further study on this subject ever since. In 1869 he became instructor in the newly founded École Pratique des Hautes Études; in 1872, a memorable year for the history of our science, he succeeded his father as professor of Medieval Literature in the Collège de France, and soon after, in collaboration with Paul Meyer, founded the *Romania,* now in the 32d volume, and published the *Alexis,* the first critical edition of an Old French text. In 1875 he was one of the founders of the *Société des anciens textes français;* in 1876 he was elected member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. His final apotheosis occurred in 1896 with his election to the French Academy.

Formative influences. Among the influences potent in shaping the magnificent capabilities with which nature had endowed him, two stand out more prominently than others; these were the teaching of his father and that of Diez.

To the former he has devoted with filial piety a long study in vol. XI of the *Romania,* pp. 1-21. It would be impossible here to cull from these pages the passages which indicate so clearly the consciousnesss of his indebtedness. To do so it would be necessary to transcribe practically the whole article, his opening lecture at the Collège de France in 1881. But the same spirit is shown equally in the dedication which accompanied the publication of the *Histoire poétique,* nearly twenty years before.

"Mon cher père:—

"Tout enfant je connaissais Roland, Berte aux grands pieds et le bon cheval Bayard, aussi bien que la Barbe-Bleu ou Cendrillon. Vous nous racontiez parfois quelqu'une de leurs marveilleuses aventures, et l'impression de grandeur héroïque qu'en recevait notre imagination ne s'est point effacée. Plus tard, c'est dans vos entretiens, dans vos leçons et dans vos livres que ma curiosité pour ces vieux récits, long temps vaguement entrevus, a trouvé à se satisfaire. Quand j'ai voulu, à mon tour, étudier leur origine, leur caractère et les formes diverses qu'ils ont revêtues, votre bibliothèque, rassemblée avec tant de soin depuis plus de trente années, a mis à ma disposition des matériaux qu'il m' eût été bien

difficiles de réunir et souvent, même de soupçonner. Vos encouragements m'ont soutenu dans le cours de mes recherches; vos conseils en ont rendu le résultat moins défectueux. En vous dédiant ce livre je ne fais donc en quelque façon que vous restituer ce qui vous appartient. Acceptez-le comme un faible témoignage de ma profonde et respectueuse tendresse."

When Diez died in 1876, G. Paris wrote as follows, *Romania* V, p. 412: "Des deux directeurs de la *Romania*, l'un a été son élève il y a vingt ans et a toujours gardé pour lui les sentiments du plus affectueux respect . . . Nous sommes un peu maintenant comme des orphelins; nous n'avons plus ce doux sentiment du disciple, qui aime à s'incliner devant une parole respectée et chère; et nous nous disons aussi avec regret que nous ne pourrons plus lui offrir les quelques épis ramassés sur ses pas dans le champ qu'il moissonna si héroïquement, glanes accueillies toujours par lui avec tant de bienveillance, et avec une sorte d'admiration, comme si c'eût été quelque chose en comparaison de sa récolte. Tous les romanistes actuels se sont assis au pied de sa chaire ou se sont formés à la lecture de ses livres; puisse le sentiment de cette filiation commune les animer toujours de son esprit ! Nul homme ne fut plus inaccessible aux rivalités mesquines, aux passions étroites, aux préjugés de clocher ou de pays. Il mettait son patriotisme à faire des oeuvres dont sa nation pût être fière, . . . C'est en nous inspirant de ces sentiments élevés, c'est en continuant, avec la méthode qu'il nous a enseignée, l'oeuvre qu'il a entreprise, que nous rendrons à sa mémoire un hommage vraiment digne d'elle."

Personality. He was tall and stately, and at first sight conveyed the impression of superiority. The expression of his face was wonderfully kind, and the sound of his voice was soft and sympathetic. Totally blind in his left eye, and during the last years of his life almost equally so in the right, he could read only by approaching the page to within a painful proximity of the eyes. His nature was kind and sympathetic.

The general experience of students who came under his influence is best illustrated by some personal reminiscences. Difficult of access on account of the many arduous duties imposed upon him, the first interview took place at his consultation hour on Thursday morning at his home. One entered the sanctum with palpitating heart, almost overawed by the fact that at last one was to meet the master, whose writings had filled the mind with admiration. All the fine speeches and sentences prepared for the occasion had disappeared as if by magic and he must often have smiled at the stammering and stuttering professors who made bold to lay their ignorance bare before him. But the cordial greeting, the sympathetic questioning, perchance the kind remembrance of some youthful publication, soon caused all restraint to disappear, and before the interview

was over, a bond of union between the pupil and the teacher was established. Then as the days wore on, the relation became closer and the admiration grew into love. In my own experience I have never seen a teacher who became the idol of his pupils as did Gaston Paris. And yet this worship was not blind.

The keynote of his teaching, the element which impressed us more than the riches of facts acquired by his untiring labors, was the pure unselfish devotion to truth, which characterized them. This sentiment, always present in his attitude, was voiced by him on various occasions. Once under particularly trying circumstances in 1870, in the opening lecture of the course on the Old French epic which he delivered at the Collège de France as a substitute for his father, he said: "Je professe absolument et sans réserve cette doctrine, que la science n'a d'autre objet que la vérité, et la vérité pour elle-même, sans aucun souci des conséquences bonnes ou mauvaises, regrettables ou heureuses, que cette vérité pourrait avoir dans la pratique. Celui qui, par un motif patriotique, religieux et même moral, se permet dans les faits qu'il étudie, dans les conclusions qu'il tire, la plus petite dissimulation, l'altération la plus légère, n'est pas digne d'avoir sa place dans le grand laboratoire où la probité est un titre d'admission plus indispensable que l'habilité."

Twenty-seven years later, on the occasion of his reception into the Academy, he spoke as follows:

"On dit à la jeunesse: Il faut aimer, il faut vouloir, il faut croire, il faut agir, sans lui dire et sans pouvoir lui dire quel doit être l'object de son amour, le mobile de sa volonté, le symbole de sa croyance, le but de son action. Il faut avant tout, lui dirais-je, si j'avais l'espoir d'être entendu, aimez la vérité, vouloir la connaître, croire en elle, travailler, si on le peut, à la découvrir. Il faut savoir la regarder en face, et se jurer de ne jamais la fausser, l'atténuer ou l'exagérer, même en vue d'un intéret qui semblerait plus haut qu'elle, car il ne saurait y en avoir de plus haut, et du moment, où on la trahit, fût-ce dans le secret de son coeur, on subit une diminution intime qui, si légère qu'elle soit, se fait bientôt sentir dans toute l'activité morale. Il n'est donné qu' à un petit nombre d'hommes d'étendre son empire; il est donné à tous de se soumettre à ses lois. Soyez sûrs que la discipline qu'elle imposera à vos esprits se fera sentir à vos consciences et à vos coeurs. L'homme qui a, jusque dans les plus petites choses, l'horreur de la tromperie et même de la dissimulation est par là-même éloigné de la plupart des vices et préparé à toutes les vertus."

The result upon the students of this lofty attitude on the part of the teacher has been beautifully expressed by Heinrich Morf. "Diesem

Geiste galt die Hingabe, das schrankenlose Vertrauen seiner Schüler die nicht *in verba magistri,* aber *in animum magistri* schwören. Sein Unterricht ward dadurch zur Unterweisung in des Wortes vollster schönster Bedeutung. Er war ein Erzieher."

What higher praise could be bestowed upon any man! And the best practical illustration of this attitude can be seen in the touching dedication which Bédier, one of the most brilliant of his pupils, penned when he published his masterly study on the Old French Fabliaux. The pupil's conclusions were in several very important particulars at variance with the theory of Gaston Paris concerning the transmission of these popular stories from the East. In fact in some vital features he denied that theory. Yet he presented his contributions to the problem as inspired by the master's teaching.

"Il se trouve que ce travail sur les fabliaux, que M. G. Paris a de plus ou moins près dirigé, contredit certaines idées qu'il a soutenues. Cette théorie orientaliste que j'attaque, il ne l'a pas acceptée dans ses prétentions excessives; mais dans la limite où elle est en effet vraisemblable, il la croit vraie. L'étude des faits m'a conduit à des conclusions contraires. Je sens combien elles sont téméraires, se heurtant à une si redoubtable autorité. Je ne les exprime pas sans tremblement: je les exprime pourtant.

Par là du moins, M. G. Paris me reconnaîtra comme de son école. Parmi ceux qui la forment, il n'en est pas un qui soit à son égard comme le *famulus* passif du docteur Faust. Tous ont appris de lui la recherche scrupuleuse et patiente, mais indépendante et brave, du vrai; la soumission du travailleur, non à un principe extérieur d'autorité, mais aux faits, et aux conséquences qu'il en voit découler; la défiance de soi, la prudence à conclure, mais aussi, quand il croit que les faits ont parlé, l'honnêteté qui s'applique à redire ce qu'ils ont dit."

The scene of Gaston Paris' labors lay in the Collège de France and in the École des Hautes Études. In the former his lectures were open to all, and were eagerly followed by large audiences of interested listeners. At the École des Hautes Études the courses were more difficult of access and it was always considered an honor and a privilege to be admitted to this smaller circle. And here it was particularly the Conférence du Dimanche which has become famous among students of Romanic philology throughout the whole world. It was a seminary in the strictest sense of the term, which met regularly at 10:30 on Sunday morning at the home of Gaston Paris, in his private library. To be admitted, it was necessary to obtain his special permission, and only the most mature students were accepted. The subjects studied varied from

year to year, but not a session passed without producing some important contribution to science, which was usually published soon after in the *Romania*.

It was in these meetings that the personality of the man showed itself to the best advantage. During the year when it was my great privilege to be a member of this conférence, the greater portion of each meeting was taken up by him with a discussion of the most important contributions to our science that were constantly sent to him from every portion of the globe. It seemed the simplest matter in the world to hear him characterize the various volumes which he had selected,—turning from a study on the crusades to another on etymologies or on Dante or on the legend of the seven Infantes de Lara. In every subject he was perfectly at home and in every case he knew how to characterize the merits of the work so aptly and so tersely; and often even now not only his words but even the very shape of the volume as he held it up before us come back to my mind.

It was in these meetings that the bonds of friendship were woven, which united teacher and pupils, and which gave to his listeners a feeling of solidarity, and made them forget the distant lands whence they had come to drink deep at this fountain of inspiration, which flowed so freely and so full. It would be impossible to characterize the spirit of these meetings better than Morf has done. "In diesem Unterricht knüpften die Bande, durch welche die jüngere Romanistenwelt mit Paris persönlich verbunden ist. Wie viele grundlegende Arbeiten sind aus diesen Uebungen hervorgegangen, die ein wahres Laboratorium der Philologie darstellten. Wenn der Chef dieses Laboratoriums einen Ehrentag feierte, dann strömten die wissenschaftlichen Gaben aus allen Ländern zusammen. Aus den Büchern, die dankbare Schüler und Mitforscher Gaston Paris gewidmet haben, liesse sich eine Bibliothek bilden, an der die Fortschritte unserer Wissenschaft gemessen werden könnten. Und an dem Ton der Widmungen lässt sich die Liebe und Verehrung ermessen, die seine wissenschaftliche Familie ihm entgegenbrachte."

Tu duca, tu signore e tu maestro.

The fertility of this master mind one can view only with awe. During the forty years of his active labors he has worked constantly and without interruption. The complete bibliography which is in course of preparation, it is estimated, will contain some fifteen hundred titles; which means a new production on an average every two weeks. In contents these contributions range over the whole domain of Romanic philology in phonology, morphology, syntax, etymology and semasiology, in

literature and popular tradition. No wonder that the name of Gaston Paris is a household word in the courses of our science. No matter where the attention is arrested, no matter what theory of language or literature is under discussion, whether the facts be finally established, or whether they be still wrapped in the mists of uncertainty, the name of the master must always be coupled with the discussion. Sometimes he has spoken the last word on the question, at others he has brought new light into dark corners and opened up new avenues of investigation. And this man, so diligent, so faithful, so conscientious, died as he had lived, his pen in his hand. Perhaps the most touching word at the sad occasion of his funeral in the stately court of the Collège de France was said by M. Thomas. Sick and feeble he left Paris on February 24 to seek in Cannes the rest and quiet which it was impossible for him to find at home. On March 5th he passed away to rest from his labors, but even after the telegraph had already announced the sad news of his death, the mail still continued to bring to Paris the proof sheets of a volume for the *Société des Anciens Textes,* with his annotations and corrections.

In closing, may I be allowed a few words of quite a personal nature. It was not easy to win the friendship of this man, who could read so clearly in the hearts of his listeners. All that came near him had to pass through a period of apprenticeship, as it were. What Gaston Paris looked for was not brilliant acquisition, but honesty and diligence and high ideals. Those who were found wanting, disappeared as they had come. But, if one had the good fortune to meet his requirements, his friendship was won, and he would pour out the best that he had in counsel and information, with a generosity that cannot be described. It was this side of the man which caused the devotion, shared by all his students. Any work, however crude, if done conscientiously, was certain of his help and benevolent criticism.

During my last visit to Paris I submitted to him the edition of Simund de Freine, which I had undertaken at his suggestion. The work was finished too late to send to him before his departure for Cérisy-La-Salle, his country home in Normandy and now his final resting place. He invited me then to visit him there and bring the manuscript along, so that we might look over it together, as he expressed it. In this way I had the very great privilege of passing several days at his home, and these days will always live with me as the brightest in my career as a student. While I had before seen him only occasionally otherwise than in an official relation, I had here the opportunity of seeing him as a man, of walking with him through the beautiful surroundings of the old château dating from the time of Henry IV, and of coming

closely in touch with his beautiful generous nature. During those days he gave himself completely up to me, putting his wide knowledge entirely at my disposal. The manuscript of my work, which I had sent him some days before, already bore the marks of his pencil. Together we read the greater portion of the text that I had prepared; where I had erred, he saw clearly, and lines which I had failed to understand, he grasped in an instant. Often I exclaimed that I was imposing upon his kindness, but he would hear of no such thing. With my manuscript close to his single eye, he would decipher my unfamiliar writing, would answer my questions and discuss my difficulties. And all this was done so naturally and with such a total absence of constraint that I really almost forgot that I was talking to the greatest authority in France on these matters, and for the moment almost believed that he said the truth when he persisted in saying that it gave him pleasure to read my text.

When the time for my departure had come, he accompanied me to the little station where I was to take the train that would take me to Havre. He stood by the door of the compartment until the train pulled out, and I can still see the kindly smile on his face as I bade him a last farewell.

The memory of those days has come to me with wonderful strength during these weeks since the telegraph brought the unexpected news of his sudden death. And it is memories of similar acts of kindness in one way or another, which have cast a gloom over the students of Romanic philology the wide world over, wherever a pupil of this master is trying to arouse enthusiasm for the studies which he loved so well.

The best of Romanic literature has been drawn upon for passages in dedication of books offered to him, to express the true veneration in which he was held. I wish to close this imperfect sketch with a few lines from the *Chanson de Roland,* in which Ganelon expresses the national feeling with regard to Charlemagne, and which seem to me particularly applicable:

"Tout nel vos sai ne preisier ne löer
Que plus n'i ad d'onur et de bontet.
Sa grand valor ki purreit acunter
De tel barnage l'ad Deus enluminet."

THE DEVELOPMENT AND PRESENT STATUS OF ROMANIC DIALECTOLOGY

JOHN ERNST MATZKE

[President's Address read before the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast on November 26, 1909.]

THE most appropriate point of departure for my discussion will be the meanings of the words *language, dialect* and *patois* as they are found in our standard dictionaries. *Language* is defined as the speech current among the nation as a whole and in which its national literature is written. Thus we have in the Romanic speech territory French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Roumanian, all of which are the official languages of political units and serve for the expression of a national literature. A *dialect* is conceived to be a variation of such an official language, current in a region or province forming a part of the larger national unit. In as much as the national unit is made up of an agglomeration of a varying number of smaller political units, related thru race and location, any given language will have a varying number of dialects, which are modes of speech related to the official language, all descending from the same common original. In form and make up these dialects differ the one from the other, tho each has traits common to all, so that their close affinity can not be doubted. The literary language itself was originally only the dialect, in this acceptation of the term, of a particular region to which favoring circumstances have given vogue and general acceptance. Thus we have the dialect of the Ile de France becoming French, that of the Toscana becoming Italian, and that of Castile becoming Spanish, but at the same time the related forms continue to live and we may distinguish Norman, Picard, Burgundian and other such dialects in France, Andalusian, Aragonese, Leonese in Spanish, Lombard, Venetian, Piedmontese, Sardinian in Italian.

The difficulty brought in by the existence of the Provençal in the South of France, the Catalan in Spain and the Rhetian in the Latin portion of Switzerland, each a distinct Romanic language, is only an apparent one. Here we have forms of speech extending over considerable areas, whose owners were not successful in their attempts to establish political independence. Their territory was absorbed by more potent neighbors, but their love of independence and their national

consciousness found expression in a literature of such importance that the form in which it is written may readily be called a language.

A *patois* finally is looked upon as a subdivision of a dialect for similar reasons and along similar lines, as the dialect is a subdivision of language. It is the speech current in a smaller district or a village.

The important feature of this classification of speech is its similarity to the recognized divisions in natural history. The dialect in the domain of language is the species in the animal or vegetable kingdom, while the patois resembles the smaller sub-species. Each has definite traits not found in any other, by which it is clearly distinguished.

The correctness or incorrectness of this conception of the problems of linguistic history was apparently not questioned in the early decades of the existence of Romanic Philology. Diez employed the terms dialect and language in the manner just outlined. It was only in 1875, when the late Italian scholar Ascoli published an article entitled *Schizzi Franco-provenzali* in vol. III of the *Archivio Glottologico,* that the current definitions of these terms were questioned. In this article Ascoli endeavored to set off a dialect group, hitherto not recognized, lying between the northernmost Italian dialects and the French Bourgogne, to which he gave the name of Franco-provenzale. The territory included comprised the departments of Loire and Rhone on the right bank of the river Rhone, and Ain, Isère, Savoie and Haute Savoie on its left, together with the departments of Doubs, Hte. Saône and Vosges lying to the north of this region. The city of Lyons, though quite on the western boundary of this district, may be looked upon as its most important representative.

The linguistic traits, upon which this new division and classification was based, may be passed over in silence at this time. Its importance arises from the fact that Ascoli here tried to outline a definite speech boundary, on either side of which different characteristics prevailed, in such a way that the language current within these limits clearly represented a speech unit. This claim precipitated a discussion concerning the nature of speech phenomena, and dialects and the existence of speech boundaries. Its argumentation and decisions were decidedly negative, and the result was the clearly outlined thesis that dialects and patois in the usual acceptation of these terms do not exist, and that speech-boundaries, with the only meaning which this term can have, are a figment of the imagination.

The first to answer was Paul Meyer in *Romania* IV, pp. 294 ff. He said in part as follows:—No group of dialects, no matter how this group might be constituted, could represent a speech-family, for the

reason that the dialect (which would represent the species in this grouping) itself is a rather arbitrary conception of our minds.—Let us see how we proceed as a matter of fact in order to constitute a dialect. We select in the speech of any given district a certain number of phenomena which we set up as the characteristics of the speech of this district. This method of procedure would certainly lead to the establishment of a distinct species of speech, if the selection of these characteristics were not perforce largely arbitrary. The various linguistic phenomena which we can observe in any region do not coincide with each other in such a way that all cover geographically the same area. They cross and overlap each other to such an extent that one would never succeed in determining any dialectic area if one were not satisfied to determine it arbitrarily. Let us suppose for example that we take as a characteristic of the Picard dialect the treatment of *c* before *a*. This feature would furnish a passable limitation towards the South and East, but toward the North it would be mediocre unless the Picard is extended to include the Flemish, and on the West it won't do at all, since it extends all over Normandy, and the dialect of Normandy is of course not to be included in that of Picardy. It will be necessary therefore to select some other characteristic, which is present only in one of the two dialects that are to be distinguished. This characteristic will have to be selected arbitrarily along the line where, according to a preconceived idea, the boundary must lie. Let us take the form of the imperfects of the first conjunction in *-oe*. Yet the use to which this trait can be put will be as arbitrary as that of *c* before *a*. We shall be forced to recognize that while it is a characteristic of Eastern Norman, it will fail us on the West because there it extends considerably beyond the confines of Normandy, and certainly no one would wish to call the speech of Anjou and Poitou, Norman. There is no other method of procedure, and it must be arbitrary. Our conclusion must be that a dialect is an artificial rather than a natural species. Any definition of the word is a *definitio nominis* and not a *definitio rei*. Furthermore, if a dialect as such can not be determined, it is clear that groups of dialects can not be clearly defined. One can imagine various ways of grouping them, each of these based upon a certain selection of linguistic phenomena, but all these methods will be forced to see limits where in fact they do not exist. The traditional classification, followed by Diez in his Grammar, has the advantage of coinciding, at least in general outline, with the political divisions and to a certain degree also with the various literatures. Its evident shortcomings matter little if the terms French, Provençal or Italian dialects are taken as geographical expressions.

From this point of view they are well chosen—provided those who make use of them do not make them signify more than they permit. . . . It is very important in this matter, as in many others, not to be misled by the terminology that one has created or accepted.

Ascoli answered (*Arch. Glott.* II, 385) that the independence of a dialect did not consist in the presence or absence of a certain number of phenomena absent or present elsewhere, but in their simultaneousness and peculiar combination. But P. Meyer replied that no matter how one might look at the question, actual divisions between the various forms of speech in the Romanic territory do not exist. The speech of one region passes imperceptibly into that of the adjoining territory. Lines between them can only be drawn by methods that are arbitrary and unscientific. When the problem had been thus clearly stated, the discussion soon became more general and other scholars participated. Thomas showed by an investigation of the patois of the department *de la Creuse* that speech boundaries within this territory do not exist and that all that the investigator can do is to determine the limits of individual phenomena, which however could not serve to describe distinct patois or dialects.

A few years later (1882) Joret published a volume entitled *Des caractères et de l'extension du patois Normand,* in which he pointed out seven traits characteristic of the speech of this region, with the purpose of describing by them the dialect of Normandy. This monograph called forth a most lucid and fundamental critique, by Gilliéron, now undoubtedly the most famous and ablest investigator of the nature of speech variations, in which it was clearly shown again that the lines of Joret's seven phenomena do not coincide and that consequently Joret's results could not be accepted.

This constructive discussion received its capstone, as it were, in 1888 in an address delivered by Gaston Paris at the annual meeting of the *Sociétés savantes* in Paris. Here a general synthesis of the problem was given and at the same time the method to be followed in its solution was outlined.

Speech boundaries as such do not exist, except where an insurmountable physical obstacle breaks the continuity of habitation or where peoples of a different race come face to face. Of the former category is the Channel between England and France, or the North Sea between Germany and Denmark; of the latter are the boundaries between France and Germany or Russia and China. But where people of the same race or descent live in a contiguous area, all divisions and boundaries are artificial and are based upon political or literary considerations.

If we could imagine a line of people touching elbows and extending

from the Pyrenees to the Channel or from the Eastern frontier of France to the ocean on the West, each standing on his native soil and speaking the language to which he has been accustomed since his birth, we should find that thruout the whole length of this chain each would understand his neighbor on the right or left, while he might find strange the speech of an individual some distance away. Even the national boundaries would become obliterated. The transition from France thru Latin Switzerland into Italy or across the Pyrenees into Spain would be gradual, and within these countries the phenomena observed in France would be repeated. The investigator of speech phenomena must first dismiss all preconceived definitions of the nature of dialects and patois. He must in the next place limit his field of observation. Let him select a hamlet or a village, rarely a group of villages, and within these limits observe all the facts that may be present. Each community, each form, each sound, each word should have its individual investigation, and only when these minute and painstaking observations have been finished with all the rigor of scientific attitude and method, will the time for synthesis have come.

Now, there can be no question that these considerations are sound, but on the other hand they do not solve all the questions that arise in this connection, for they are based solely on the present conditions of the languages and they leave out of account their historical development.

These historical considerations were introduced into the discussion of the problem by Gröber in his article on *Die romanischen Sprachen, Ihre Eintheilung* and *äussere Geschichte* in his *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie,* I, pp. 415 ff. Gröber saw correctly that if the opinions of Meyer, Paris, Gilliéron and others were to be borne out by the facts of the history and growth of a language, it would be necessary that this language developed or spread gradually from a given center, until it covered the whole area now occupied by it.

Now, this was not the way in which the speech of Latium became established in the neo-latin countries. We know that the Folk-latin from which the Romanic languages have sprung was carried to its new home in the first place by military expeditions. When the new colony was conquered, the language was left there, as it were, transplanted into a new soil, to live its own life. On this supposition alone can we explain why the speech of Sardinia, the oldest of Rome's colonies, shows traits of age which distinguish it sharply from the younger colonies of Rhetia and Gaul. Then again the conditions of life in those early centuries, and the methods of conquest and colonization, make it evident that the latinization of the new territory did not extend gradually from the frontier inwards, but that it spread from various centers, established

within the conquered territory and selected for reasons of strategic or commerical importance. Gaul was not attacked in its entirety, but in its centers and strongholds, around which the existing population was grouped. Whenever such a stronghold was captured, a military colony was established there which was supplied as soon as possible with merchants and mechanics and farmers, who settled there and thus laid the foundations of new commonwealths. Now it is from these centers, located often at great distances from each other, that the latinization of Gaul proceeded. Their number it is easier to imagine than to state, their names must be discovered by the science of Historical Geography. It has been suggested that names of Celtic origin may represent some of these, while the newer names of Germanic or Latin origin and often formed in honor of Christian saints must designate younger settlements.

The population subjected to this influence was not a homogeneous one. There were different tribes, clustering about their own established centers and having most probably each its own peculiar form of speech. Latin had therefore to contend from the beginning with differing conditions.

The tendency toward variation existing here was increased by the conditions of civilization. Extensive forests separated centers of population by large and uninhabitated districts. Roads were poor and travel limited. An occasional merchant going into a different community was not likely to change the habits of his town when he returned. Commerce was in its infancy. Rights of citizenship belonged only to actual members of a community and strangers were not welcomed. Marriages from one community to another were doubtless rare. In Roumania to this day in certain districts the individual who leaves his village to marry in another loses caste. Each community was a unit by itself and the larger cities were walled in and out of touch with the surrounding territory. But it was precisely from these larger centers of population that the new language had to assert its influence, and before the lines radiating from one such nucleus would meet with those emanating from another, centuries might pass, and dialects in the strictest sense of the term might have been developed.

Gradually in the course of the centuries the whole area of the country was colonized and the speech boundaries of the various districts came together. But their contact was gradual, and in its process differences of one kind or another were worn away. Certain speech phenomena of one region found points of least resistance in the language of its neighbor, and formed entering wedges through which they spread beyond their original territory. As the result the boundaries overlap, all traces of the

original division are destroyed, and the modern student of dialects can see only individual speech phenomena but no dialects in the proper sense of the term.

Systematic utilization of these considerations has not been very decided. Before Gröber's article appeared, Tourtoulon and Bringuier had attempted in 1876 to establish the limit between the French and Provençal. Its publication largely prompted the establishment of the theory of dialects discussed in the earlier portion of this paper. Other lines of demarcation of which an outline has been attempted lie between the Wallonian and Lorraine, between Burgundy and Franche Comté, between the Catalan and Provençal, and between the Provençal and the dialect of Piedmont. None of these have met a favorable reception. Two later titles, however, should be singled out, of which the second is particularly important because it attacks the problem on the basis of the historical conception outlined by Gröber. The first of these was published by Simon in the *Mélanges Wallons* in 1892 on the subject of the boundary between the Picard and Wallonian in Belgium. Here we meet with a new conception of the term 'speech boundary.' The limit between the two dialects is described not as a sharp and definite line but as a zone having a breadth of fifteen kilometers at its widest point, within which the boundaries of five speech phenomena absent or present in the two dialects in question cross and overlap. Gilliéron answered that the results are the best proof of the accuracy of the theory which the author wished to overthrow, but on the other hand a German scholar, by the name of Horning, an undisputed authority in dialect investigations, accepted it in an article "Ueber Dialektgrenzen im Romanischen" (publ. 1893) *Z. f. rom. Phil.* XVII, pp. 160 ff., and tried to show in an exceedingly thoughtful and scholarly discussion of the whole problem, that speech boundaries in the nature of things must be just such zones, as Simon had found in the district which he had studied.

Since then the theoretical discussion of the problem has rested, and the final answer to the question is left to the future. But the investigation of the variations of speech in the Romanic territory has gone on apace and important contributions to dialectology have been published. The investigation has been particularly systematic in France, due to the untiring energy of Gilliéron, without question one of the keenest of modern dialectologists.

In response to the suggestions contained in the address of Gaston Paris, cited in the earlier part of this paper, Gilliéron conceived the idea of the publication of an atlas, devoted to the forms of speech current within the political boundaries of France, and giving an accurate picture

of present conditions. The plan was gigantic and the difficulties almost insuperable, but Gilliéron has been able to meet them; and the Atlas, now in course of publication, when completed will form a lasting monument of scholarship and patient devotion. In a work of such magnitude it is impossible within a single lifetime to achieve completeness in all details. But what it was necessary to exclude in quantity and minuteness of detail is compensated by the keenness of perception, and the accurate knowledge of dialect problems. Gilliéron was not a novice in such investigations. Beginning with the study of his native speech in Latin Switzerland, he had gradually extended his observation to the rest of France, and became an undisputed authority in questions of this kind.

Several things he saw clearly when he outlined the plans for the collection of the material for the speech atlas: (1) That it would be impossible to visit and investigate the speech of every village or hamlet in France. (2) That only salient features of the speech of the localities included could be represented in the Atlas. (3) That the gathering of the material, if the result is to be uniform, must be undertaken by the same individual, who must be trained especially for that particular purpose.

The first problem was to outline the plan of the work geographically. Since it was impossible to visit the thirty-seven thousand villages and cities in France, it became necessary to select according to a definite plan. Concentric circles to the number of ten were therefore drawn on a map of France about a point as nearly as possible in the center, and these were divided into ten equal sections by drawing five radiating diameters at equal distances through the center to the outermost circle. Each of the ten equal sections thus obtained was given a definite numbering, the first from one to one hundred, the second from one hundred to two hundred and so on, so that in all a first choice of one thousand villages or hamlets was thus agreed upon. Each of those selected received its number, starting from the center. The section holding the numbers from one to one hundred contains those from one to ten within the first circle, those from ten to twenty in the second, those from ninety to a hundred in the tenth circle. When this general outline was complete a further and final selection of six hundred and ninety-three out of the possible thousand towns and villages was decided upon as the places to which the investigation should be limited, and here the judgment of Gilliéron was naturally the all important element. The places thus selected were in the next place entered upon a blank map of France not by their names but by their numbers, since the orthography of the name would, or might, interfere with the linguistic trait which each map is intended to illustrate.

The purpose of the Atlas being to furnish speech maps, the more impersonal the map itself can be made, the more definite will the phenomena in question stand out.

The material to be utilized in the investigation in the next place was supplied by Gilliéron himself. His previous studies in this line made it possible for him to construct a questionary calculated to set off the form of language in any one of the six hundred and ninety-three centers to be investigated. Three types of questions were included in this list: (1) Isolated words, whose pronunciation would establish the laws of phonetic development. (2) Words known to vary as to form or suffix in different parts of France and capable therefore of showing the variation of the popular vocabulary. (3) Simple phrases illustrating morphological and syntactical habits. The items included in these various categories are by no means complete; indeed, Gilliéron himself was the first to recognize this fact (he calls the Atlas *une modeste ébauche,* "a modest sketch") and in the course of the investigation he proceeded to enlarge the scope of the questions, particularly with refernce to the second of the three categories just enumerated. It is in the nature of such investigations that the wisest judgment follows the completion of the work, and if Gilliéron were to begin anew, no doubt many new points of investigation would be added, and the accumulated information would be largely increased. However these omissions do not detract in the least from the value of what the Atlas actually brings. As it stands it is a veritable mine of information for speech variation in France, and the accretions to our knowledge of speech already gained from it are merely a promise of what we shall obtain in the future.

While Gilliéron planned and directed the work, the actual labor of carrying it out was accomplished by his colaborer Edmond, a man endowed with remarkable qualities of observation and an ear keen to detect the slightest variations in sound. The labor of collecting this vast material in the whole of France occupied four years, during which M. Edmond travelled with note-book in hand from one place to another, singling out the person or persons calculated to furnish the desired information most accurately, and as soon as this work was accomplished, another was begun. With reference to the method of procedure, several features should be especially emphasized. (1) The itinerary of M. Edmond was carefully planned and arranged so as to neutralize the effects of pre-conceived notions or impressions of speech variation. The line of travel represents a zig-zag across France, so that often months passed before he reappeared in the proximity of a region already examined. (2) The material gathered was immediately dispatched to headquarters,

so that all temptation to compare the new with the old was made impossible. (3) The answers were noted in a uniform phonetic transcription, and for any given locality they represent, as it were, a snapshot photograph of the condition of the language, and these photographs were not worked up or corrected. They represent the instantaneous impression of a skilled observer. Their evident cohesion when put together to picture the language of the country as a whole is the best guarantee of the accuracy of method and observation, but Gilliéron is emphatic in his statement that the faults which the maps may contain (perfection in a work of this nature is doubly impossible) are not due to critical revision of the material, nor to the insinuating influence which the impressions gained in one locality might have in forming those sought in another.

The work of publishing this tremendous undertaking has proceeded without interruption since its beginning. Thirty-three fascicules, each containing fifty maps thus aggregating sixteen hundred and fifty in all have been published thus far, and the end is in sight. Thirty-five fascicules will complete the work as planned.

Each of these maps gives a picture of a single phenomenon of language, in phonology or morphology or syntax, or semasiology, and often the latter are the most important and illuminating. The work of exploiting the material given in them has already begun, and it will be interesting to outline the method followed and the results obtained in some of these studies. Their publication has imposed a new task upon the editors of linguistic journals, in as much as they are usually accompanied by maps showing by colored areas the extent and relation of the phenomena under investigation.

The problems taken up in these studies are among the most fundamental, and as a matter of fact take up the whole difficult question of the transformation of Latin into the modern neo-latin speech forms from a new and larger point of view. It is the geography of speech phenomena and its relation to the history of neo-latin colonization and civilization which has come into the foreground. And the most suggestive work along this line, because it opens up the largest vistas and because it is truly creative, is that of Gilliéron himself, published in connection with Roques, one of the very keenest of the younger Romanic scholars in Paris.

To understand the fundamental nature of this work it is imperative to outline briefly what would appear to be the natural conception of the growth of Romanic speech forms, and which as a matter of fact has determined and largely continues to determine the general attitude of all

students of Romanic dialectology. If we think of Latin as a natural organism transplanted from its native habitat into a new surrounding and there left to develop unhampered along the line prescribed by its inherent tendencies and the new influences to which it was subjected, it follows that we ought to be able to outline the particular life history of any patois from its present form back to the moment when the Latin settlers occupied the place, provided we are able to collect the material which will allow us to construct this history. In other words, the speech of any given locality should represent in uninterrupted and gradual alteration the Latin that was brought to it.

In order to outline the answer which Gilliéron and Roques give to this assertion, we shall outline briefly two of their studies published within recent years. Both appeared in the *Revue de phililogie française*. The first, which may be found in vol. XX, pp. 118 ff, bears the suggestive title of *Mirages phonétiques*. The *mirage* which is studied is the continuity of phonetic transmission. The particular will-o-the-wisp which is to be captured in the development of Latin *cl* and *fl* in forty patois geographically and socially related, and *nine* vocables, representing as many maps, are studied. Of these words six (clarinette, clarté, clé, cloches, clou, clouer) show *cl*, and three (fleurs, flamme, fléau) contain *fl*. In the former group *clarinette* is, in a way, the pivot of the argument. The word must be of recent origin, and its introduction can not antedate the construction of the instrument which it describes; in the latter, *fléau* occupies a similar position of importance. At first sight the word should be as old as the object for which it stands and the agricultural event of regular occurrence for which the object is needed. However thrashing with a *flail, i.e.,* an object consisting of a handle, to the end of which a stouter piece of wood is attached so as to swing freely, is not the method used everywhere for this purpose. In some districts a simple stick is used, in others still other methods are followed; *fléau* often means not the whole instrument but only the articulated end. In its present meaning *fléau* is therefore not unlike *clarinette* as far as its history in any given locality is concerned. Now it is well known that *cl* and *fl* in their history coincide. They develop into *kl fl, ky fy,* $> \hat{\varsigma}l > \hat{\varsigma}y >$ *sy*. If phonetic processes are as consistent as we imagine them to be, and if the lines of transmission from the Latin to the modern forms are unbroken, we might expect to find variations of sounds as we pass from one patois to another, but within the same patois the words of the same category should all show the same form, only *clarinette* and *fléau* might stand apart, since they were accepted at later periods. Now a study of the words shows no such regularity—in fact the only thing that can be

observed is absolute confusion. A few patois have uniformity of all the words at one stage or another of the phonetic sequence. If *clarinette* or *fléau* stood aloof, the trust in the absoluteness of phonetic law would be conserved, but since uniformity draws along words that should show different treatment, it is evident that the result is artificial. If clearly recent words may disguise their age, there is no guarantee that the form of older words is any more indigenous to the locality where they are found. Furthermore this apparent regularity is decidedly the exception in the patois studied. Only eight of the forty show it. In the remaining thirty-two we meet irregularity of varying degree, sometimes one, sometimes two or more words depart from the rest. We may find our words falling into two or three groups, or again a single word may exist in two forms of which one will be felt to be older than the other. The only conclusion to be drawn from this confusion is the one suggested by the title. Phonetic regularity and continuity of transmission is a mirage. The patois studied have borrowed for the words in question one from the other, or rather the words have migrated and spread and not one of them can be said to represent for its present form and habitat an unbroken line of transmission since the Latin invasion. It follows that if this conclusion must be accepted in one category it may be equally true in others, where similar crossing and confusion prevails. And since this is the case everywhere, we have no guarantee that even the simplest vocables or phenomena in any given village or patois are actually indigenous to that locality.

The second of the studies referred to (*Rev. de phil. fr.* XXII 268) attacks more particularly the problem of the spread of a single phenomenon. It is based upon the forms of the names of the days of the week, comprising seven maps. These names are composed of two elements, the substantive *dies* and the name of a planet in the genitive depending upon it: *dies Lunae, Martis, Mercurii.* Taking *dies Martis* as a type, three forms correspond to it within the limits of France: *mardi* in the North, *dimars* and *mars* in the South, which pass gradually over into Spanish *martes,* but separate the Italian *martedì* from its close French parallel *mardi.* The usual explanation has been to posit three Latin types, *martis dies, dies martis* and *martis* as points of departure for the modern forms. However, the study in question shows that this position is clearly a begging of the question. Latin knew only one formula, *Martis dies* from which the French and Italian spring directly. *Dimars* is due to a Romanic rearrangement of the two elements in the word, due to Romanic principles of syntax, which tends to place the principal idea before the one which it governs. This change of position could, however, be effected only where *di* lived independently with the

meaning of *day,* which is true of Provençal and Spanish but not in French and Italian, where this idea is expressed by *jour* and *giorno*. For the same reason *di* might also drop out altogether, leaving *mars* and Spanish *martes.*

The article then takes up the study of the *s,* which has disappeared in French *mardi,* but is present in *dimars* and *martes*. The O. Fr. knew *marsdi* with *s,* but its position between consonants gave it little resistance and it dropped early. In the South, however, the *s* has lived and even spread to those names where it was originally absent, as *dies lunae* = *di lunes*. However, this letter is not present everywhere to the same extent. While there is a considerable area in the extreme South where it is present, there are smaller areas on the northern border of this territory, where this *s* is present in some of the names in question, but not in all, and these names are not the same in all localities; and there follows a considerable zone lying still further north where the southern order of elements (di-mar) is maintained, but where the *s* has uniformly dropped, as in the large northern area, where the order of elements is reversed, as shown in *mardi*. The conclusion is that the influence of the northern type *mardi* is gradually spreading and pressing southward. Its present extent is larger than it was formerly, for *dimars* is found in Old French and there is at least one remnant of this type preserved to this day in a village in the extreme north near Liége. But with this single exception this type has given way in the North to the form *mardi,* which we can see crowding toward the South at the present time. The point of least resistance is the old genitive *s*. This has already disappeared in the large zone just described and it shows great weakness and vacillation in the districts bordering upon that zone on the south. In all probability these districts will drop it as the zone on the north has already done, and the existence of the southern type will be still further increased.

It seemed of interest to analyze this study thus in detail, for it illustrates the kind of problems which the publication of Gilliéron's Atlas has called forth and the method which must be applied to their solution. These studies are in the first place concerned with linguistic geography, and the ultimate result of this new line of investigation can at present not be foreseen. This much, however, is evident, that these studies are vital in importance and that they are likely to overturn some of the theories which at present appear to be fundamental in Romanic Philology.

The bearing of these investigations upon the question outlined in an earlier part of this discussion concerning the nature and definition of dialects is not entirely definite. It is perfectly clear that dialects in the older sense of the word do not exist at present. We can discern only

areas of individual phenomena. But this does not prove that speech-boundaries in the larger sense have not been obliterated in the course of centuries by the gradual spread of individual linguistic phenomena. To find the answer to this question another method must be followed and evidence of another kind must be gathered. The history of Latin colonization must be investigated in detail for the purpose of discovering, if possible, the various centers from which the latinizing influence spread over the Romanic territory and the lines of least resistance along which it moved. The need of this study has already been clearly seen, and its possibilities and importance for the furtherance of dialect investigations were pointed out by Morf in an address delivered in August of the year 1908 before the fourth section of the *International Congress of the Historical Sciences* (Bull. de Dialectologie Romane I, 1-17) held in Berlin. Time does not permit us to analyze this most suggestive study. Suffice it to say that the author clearly sees the new direction which Romanic dialectology has taken, and that he makes it evident that the study of the future will have to take into account much more than has been done in the past the geography of the neo-latin countries, commercial and physical and political, of the period during which the conquest took place. Without question its spread was gradual and the language found its easiest progress along the roads which joined the various centers of commercial and political prominence. If it is possible to discover the evidences of its gradual growth at all, they should be found along these arteries through which the new national life began to flow.

Thus far in this discussion the attention has been centered upon the development of dialect studies in France, but the other Latin countries have received similar attention. Under the direction of Ascoli the speech forms of Northern Italy have for years been receiving systematic attention, and the results of this study have been collected and published in the *Archivio Glottologico,* which has thus become a mine of dialect information. The Latin portions of Switzerland have been similarly worked over, and the dialects of Italy, Spain and Roumania have not been neglected. But much remains still to be done, and the publication of Gilliéron's Atlas has made it clear that the essential problems of the growth of speech must be studied collectively and that there is grave danger that the necessary material for this study will disappear, unless concerted action can take steps to preserve it. The uncultured and native forms of speech are losing ground every day before the inroads of the schools and the literary language. Irretrievable damage has already been wrought, but much valuable material still remains accessible, provided an immediate effort is made to collect it. Thus the influence of the French school of

dialectology has been vital and productive, and there is evidence of a renewed enthusiasm and great vitality in this fundamentl division of linguistic research.

A dialect atlas has been published for Switzerland by Gauchat, and another for Roumania by Weigand, and dialect studies fill the pages of our scientific magazines. The most important development, however, for the systematic exploitation of this subject is the formation of the *International Society of Romanic Dialectology* accomplished during the year 1908, which has just begun to publish its studies in the *Revue de Dialectologie Romane* (since January, 1909), devoted to longer articles, and the *Bulletin de Dialectologie Romane,* in which society, information, bibliography and matters of more general interest are systematically collected. The address of Morf already referred to opens the Bulletin, and thus lays down, as it were, the method to be followed in the work of the new Society.

Its organization is ambitious and unique. The plan was conceived, if I am not mistaken, by two young dialectologists, Schädel, a young German scholar, and Saroïhandy, a Frenchman, who met in the Pyrenees, both intent upon the study of the Patois spoken upon the slopes of this mountain chain. Impressed with the fact that the dialects are rapidly disappearing, they conceived the idea of organizing a large society, whose object it should be to preserve as much of this material as is still available, and conscious of the fundamental importance of this study they resolved to organize this study wherever Latin in any modern form lives as the spoken language.

The circular which they sent out in 1907 said in part as follows:

"The popular speech of the neo-latin countries is in many districts on the point of disappearing before the overpowering influence of the official language, and it is high time to gather and study them on the basis of phonetics and the principles of modern linguistic science . . . Much work has already been done, but if a great portion of these speech forms are to be preserved from absolute oblivion, if the wealth of their sounds and forms, their modes of expression and vocabulary are to be utilized for the scientific study of language, there is much that still remains untouched . . . Here the duty of the new International Society of Romanic Dialectology begins . . . But the magnitude of the work surpasses the strength of any small group of philologians and dialectologists. The interest and support of all friends of art, language and civilization must be enlisted, of governments and local authorities and of the benefactors of science, and that wherever a Romanic language is spoken from Spanish America to Roumania, from the Mediterranean to Canada . . ."

The response to this call surpassed all expectations. By January 1909 two hundred and seven favorable answers had been received, and the plan of the Society could be definitely outlined. A general division of seventeen sections was made, representing as many countries—each under the direction of a scholar known for his interest in dialectic investigations. Thus Italy is under the supervision of Salvioni, Switzerland under that of Gauchat, Roques directs the studies in France, Menendez-Pidal those in Spain, Leite de Vasconcellos those in Portugal, Schädel those in Germany, and Geddes, well known for his investigations in Canadian French, those in America. The list is not yet complete, and additions will shortly be announced for Spanish America, which is so far not represented at all, and other regions that might offer similar interest. The general direction of the society is in the hands of the Secretary, Schädel Privat docent at the University of Halle, the publications already cited are printed in Brussels, and no restrictions are prescribed as to the language in which the contributions must be written. All the Romanic languages, together with German and English, will be admitted.

The new Revue will thus become without question one of the most important of our Romanic periodicals. The numbers that have appeared so far are dignified and scholarly, and promise well for the future. But it is with considerable pride that we can point to the fact that one of the first articles in the series was written in America. It is a study of *New Mexican Spanish* by Espinosa, Professor in the University of New Mexico.

My outline of the present status of Romanic dialectology may stop here. Though undoubtedly the most important division of pure linguistics, it is also the most difficult. Situation, attitude and training are indispensable elements in the make up of the successful investigator, and most of us are destined to sit by and watch the work that is carried on by others. But there is no question that a new era has dawned for Romanic dialectology, and we may confidently expect important results in the future.

PURGATORIO XI

THE LORD'S PRAYER

(Translated by Melville B. Anderson)

"OUR FATHER, Thou who dwellest high in Heaven,
Not circumscrib'd, but by the love immense
That to Thy first creation Thou hast given,
Prais'd be Thy name and Thy omnipotence
By all created beings, emulous
To render thanks to Thy sweet effluence.
O let Thy Kingdom's peace descend on us,
For with all reach of soul that in us lies,
We cannot win it, if it come not thus.
As Thine own holy angels sacrifice
Their will to Thee, while they *Hosanna* sing,
So let men do with penitential sighs.
This day to us our daily manna bring,
For in this desert rough, in utter dearth,
We backward go when most endeavoring.
As we forgive to everyone on earth
The wrongs we bore, so graciously do Thou
Forgive, and do not look upon our worth.
Put not to proof before our ancient foe
Our power of will, so easily undone,
But liberate from him who spurs it so.
We make, dear Lord, this final orison
Not for ourselves, because there is no need,
But all for dear ones left behind us yon."
Beseeching for themselves and us good speed,
Those weary shadows thus pursued their way
'Neath loads like those which oft from dreams proceed,
And under divers burdens stagger'd they
All round that foremost cornice of the hill,
Purging the soilure of the world away.
If good for us be spoken yonder still,
What may be done and said for them down here
By those who have a good root to their will?
Surely we ought to give them aid to clear
The stains they carried hence, that pure and light
They issue forth upon the starry sphere.

THE DOCTRINE OF VERISIMILITUDE IN FRENCH AND ENGLISH CRITICISM OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

RAYMOND MACDONALD ALDEN

THE doctrine of poetry in the Renaissance and the succeeding neo-classical period might be briefly described as the extension and application of Aristotle's doctrine of the imitative and yet ideal nature of art. How the poet may at once remain true to the facts of experience and to those larger truths by fidelity to which he transcends the work of the historian,—this was the great problem of the *Poetics,* and it is that which still lives in the most recent contentions respecting the limits of realism and of romance. In the neo-classical period one of the most influential of the doctrines which was developed in the attempt to solve the problem was that of *vraisemblance* or verisimilitude. It is the purpose of this paper to show something of the origins and applications of this dogma in the seventeenth century. It has often been referred to by those who have made excursions into the history of criticism, but usually with much more of scorn for its unhappy application to particular poets than with a sincere effort to understand it from the standpoint of the age of formalism.

The sources of the doctrine are found in three familiar passages in Aristotle, in the ninth, fifteenth, and twenty-fifth chapters of the *Poetics.*

"It is not the function of the poet to relate what has happened, but what may happen,—what is possible according to the law of probability or necessity. . . . By the universal I mean how a person of given character will on occasion speak or act, according to the law of probability or necessity; and it is this universality at which poetry aims in the names she attached to the personages."

"In respect of character . . . the second thing to aim at is propriety. There is a type of manly valor; but for a woman to be valiant or terrible would be inappropriate. . . . As in the structure of the plot, so too in the portraiture of character, the poet should always aim either at the necessary or the probable. Thus a person of a given character should speak or act in a given way, by the rule either of necessity or of probability, just as this event should follow that by necessary or probable sequence."

"The impossible must be justified by reference to artistic requirements, or to the higher reality, or to received opinion. With respect to

the requirements of art, a probable impossibility is to be preferred to a thing improbable and yet possible. Again, it may be impossible that there should be men such as Zeuxis painted. 'Yes,' we say, 'but the impossible is the higher thing, for the ideal type must surpass the reality.' To justify the irrational, we appeal to what is commonly said to be. In addition to which, we urge that the irrational sometimes does not violate reason; just as 'it is probable that a thing may happen contrary to probability.' "[1]

The Italian commentators on Aristotle,—Maggi, Castelvetro, and Denores, for example[2]—made much of these passages, emphasizing the requirement of the *verisimile* in the treatment of both plot and character. But it is not till we reach the French treatises of the next century that we discover the full possibilities of the doctrine. One of the earliest of these, *L'Academie de l'Art Poëtique*, by "le Sieur de Deimier," (1610) introduces us at once to the rationalistic interpretation of Aristotle's "probability" which was so long to dominate criticism. The laws of poetry, we are told, oblige poets to write not only true things (here the probable seems to *narrow* the limitation set by the *true*, it will be observed, instead of widening it), but things *'vraisemblables'*; never those impossible, exceeding what one can imagine. In this respect even Homer errs: he makes the stones thrown by Hector and Diomed incredibly big; and Ariosto also, when he says that the lances of certain warriors went so high as to touch the sphere of fire and come down ablaze,—something quite contrary to "les regles astronomiques."[3]

In 1623 Jean Chapelain, writing his singular eulogistic preface to Marino's *Adone*, took up the matter from the other side of the question, representing truth as altogether abandoned by poetry. The ancients,

"jugeant que la vérité des choses (supposé qu'elles despendissent du hazard) nuisoit par leurs fortuits et incertains evenemens à leur intention si louable, tous d'un accord ont banny la verité de leur Parnasse, les uns composans tout de caprice, sans y rien mesler qui fust d'elle, les autre se contentans de la changer et alterer en ce qui faisoit contre leur idée." . . . "Ainsi donc il suffira un poeme qu'il soit vraysemblable pur estre approuvé, à cause de la facile impression que la vraysemblance fait sur l'imagination, laquelle se captive et se laisse mener par ce moyen a l'intention du poëte."

[1] Butcher's translation; *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, pp. 35, 53-55, 105-107.

[2] Cf. *Liber de Poetica* (by Maggi and Bartholomæus the Lombard), 1550, pp. 130, 198; *La Poetica d'Aristotle* (by Castelvetro), ed. 1576, p. 400; the *Poetica* of Denores, 1588, B 14. For these references I am indebted to my colleague, Professor Colbert Searles.

[3] Chapters xvi, xvii; pp. 500, 504, 537.

But the great opportunity for applying the doctrine of *vraisemblance*, together with other favorite theories of neo-classicism, came in connection with "la querelle du *Cid*." The point upon which Corneille's play chiefly turned, the conflict of emotions in the heart of a woman who loves the slayer of her father, one would think to be a conspicuous example of the kind of "probability contrary to probability" which Aristotle had noted, as his readers in this period very well knew. But not so Scudéry, who in his attack on the *Cid* in his *Observations* (1637), first laid down the law of *vraisemblance* as the chief of those governing the dramatist, quoted Aristotle against "improbable possibilities," and declared that the *Cid* violated the law, since under no circumstances is it probable (even though known to have occurred) that a woman should marry her father's murderer.[4] And the Academy sustained the charge. In its *Sentimens* (1638), voiced by Chapelain, it was admitted that Aristotle gave room for an "extraordinary" kind of probability, as when (for example) a strong man is conquered;[5] but this does not permit us to go too far. It would not permit the poet to represent one who had always lived honorably as committing a crime; and it would not permit the Chimène of the drama

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[4] Gasté: *La Querelle du Cid*, p. 77.

[5] The statement made by Chapelain that Aristotle recognizes two kinds of probability, ordinary and extraordinary, is repeated by Mesnardière (1640; see below), but is of course inaccurate. It appears to have been derived from Castelvetro's comment on Aristotle's words in chapter xviii of the *Poetics*: " . . . when the clever rogue, like Sisyphus, is outwitted, or the brave villain defeated. Such an event is, moreover, probable in Agathon's sense of the word: 'it is probable,' he says, 'that many things should happen contrary to probability.'" (Butcher, p. 69.) Castelvetro's comment is as follows: "Sono duo maniere di verisimili, l'una di quelli, che rappresentano le verita, le quali avengono per lo piu secondo certo corso, & l'altra di quelli, che rappresentano le verita, che alcuna volta traviano dall' usato corso. Come, e verisimile, che uno astuto malvagio inganni & non sia ingannato, & che un possente vinca, & non sia vinto, perchio che veramente noi veggiamo per lo piu avenire cosi, & è anchora verisimile, che uno astuto malvagio, volendo ingannare, sia ingannato alcuna volta, & che un possente, volendo vincere, sia vinto alcuna volta. Si che l'un verisimile riguarda l'assai volte della verita, & l'altro le poche volte della verita, & cosi l'uno, come l'altro è verisimile. Ma il secondo per la rarita, è piu maraviglioso, & è detto essere verisimile fuori del verisimile pure per la rarita, & perche si torce dalla strada del primo verisimile," (part. xx.) Castelvetro's examples of the two sorts of probability seem largely to have suggested those of later critics; though (as Professor Searles kindly brings to my attention) Maggi had already made a similar variation upon Aristotle's "brave villain defeated": "verisimile non esse sapientem decipi nec strenuum superari." (*De poetica*, part. xcv.)

to become reconciled to Roderigo, even though the Chimène of history was so reconciled. "Toutes les verités ne sont pas bonnes pour le theatre." The poet had better alter history rather than present "verités monstrueuses;" for his art, "proposant l'idée universelle des choses, . . . espure des defaux et des irregularités particulières que l'histoire par la severité de ses loix est contrainte d'y souffrir."[6] Aristotle's veritable doctrine, of course,—but with an application which would surely have caused any Greek to stare.

In *La Poëtique* of Mesnardière (1640) we find not only a general exposition of Aristotelian *vraisemblance* (in chapter iii, on Tragedy), but a special application to the treatment of character by the poet (chapter viii, on *Moeurs*). This form of the doctrine was the result of a coalescence of the second of the passages from the *Poetics* quoted above ("thus a person of a given character should speak or act in a given way") with an equally familiar passage from Horace *De Arte Poetica*,—the New Testament of classical orthodoxy, as Aristotle's treatise was the Old:

> *Ætatis cujusque notandi sunt tibi mores,*
> *Mobilibusque decor naturis dandus et annis;—*
> (vv. 156-157)

with the succeeding verses describing the four ages of man. Professor Spingarn has given a brief but sound and suggestive account of the inferences drawn by the Renaissance critics from this blended Aristotelian-Horatian precept, pointing out how they "led to a hardening and crystallization of character in the classic drama."[7] Of this tendency Mesnardière's discussion is a remarkable example. The *moeurs* of tradegy may be determined, he tells us, by age, fortune, and station. A king should be courageous and prudent, a tyrant cruel and perfidious (what if a tyrant, one cannot help inquiring, should be also a king?). The element of nationality gives similar generalizations: Frenchmen are to be represented as "hardis, courtois, indiscrets, genereux, inconstans, prodigues, peu laborieux, polis, legers dans leurs amours, impatiens et temeraires;" Englishmen as infidelles, parresseux, vaillans, cruels,

[6] *La Querelle du Cid*, p. 365 f.

[7] *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, page 86. But Spingarn refers only to the "tentative distinctions of character formulated by Aristotle in the *Rhetoric*," and remarks on the misconception which led to "the attempt to transpose them to the domain of poetry." The passage above cited from chapter xv of the *Poetics* is evidence that the neo-classicists were not wholly without warrant for their attempt.

amateurs de la propreté, ennemis des étrangers, altiers et interressez." Although there are individual exceptions, the poet will do well to stick to general truth, and "il ne faut jamais introduire sans necessité absolue, ni une fille vaillante, ni une femme sçavante, ni un valet judicieux. . . . C'est chocquer directement la vraisemblance ordinaire."[8] The same doctrine is echoed by the abbé d'Aubignac (*La Pratique du Theatre,* 1657): "Quand un roy parle sur la scene, il faut qu'il parle en roy." (p. 95.) And Boileau's summary of the matter will be readily recalled:

> "Des siècles, de pays, étudiez les moeurs;
> Les climats font souvent les diverses humeurs.
> Gardez donc de donner, ainsi que dans *Clélie,*
> L'air ni l'esprit françois à l'antique Italie."
> (*L'Art Poetique,* iii, 113-116)[9]

Limitations of space make it necessary to mention later critics in a still more cursory fashion. In Rapin's *Reflexions sur la Poëtique d'Aristote* (1674) is a conventional discussion of the relation of the probable to the marvelous, both elements being characteristic of poetry; incidental to this is a definition of *le vraisemblable*: it is "tout ce qui est conformé à l'opinion du public."[10] Dacier, in the ninth chapter of his commentary on the *Poetics* (1692), treats the same matter, but without originality. Perrault, incidental to his attack upon the sacredness of the ancient poets (*Paralelle des Anciens et des Modernes,* 1692), like Deimier, finds Homer erring against the law of probability. The poet permits Achilles and Agamemnon to revile each other far too impudently; kings and captains were surely never so brutal, or, if they were, such things have no place in a poem, "où les choses se mettent, non point comme elles peuvent, mais comme elles doivent arriver." (Tome iii, p. 49.) Thus the century ends with the devotion to ideal *vraisemblance* unimpaired.[11]

[8] pp. 120-124, 137.

[9] Earlier in the canto, too, Boileau summarizes the more general form of the doctrine:

> "Jamais au spectateur n'offrez d'incroyable;
> Le vrai peut quelquefois n'être pas vraisemblable.
> Une merveille absurde est pour moi sans appas;
> L'esprit n'est point ému de ce qu'il ne croit pas." (47-50.)

[10] It is interesting to note that Vavasseur, who attacked Rapin's work in some *Remarques* (found in his *Opera Omnia,* Amsterdam, 1709), objects to Rapin's admitting *la vérité* as an element having any place in poetry, and cites Aristotle as permitting only *le vraysemblable.* (p. 686.)

[11] Corneille's discussion of the subject has been omitted, since its only characteristic feature is a complete misunderstanding of Aristotle, commonly

A special application of the doctrine, even more influential than that having to do with types of character, was that concerned in the law of the unities of time and place. This has been more carefully studied than any of the other aspects of the subject, and our present purpose will only admit of indicating briefly the close connection between the general theory of probability and the discussion of the unities. For the early Renaissance critics this has been pointed out by Professor Spingarn (*Criticism in the Renaissance,* pp. 93-96) ;—how the notion of the *verisimile,* in the case of the drama, became that of an illusion, by which the spectator was to be made to seem to see the very events depicted by the poet.[12] The abbé d'Aubignac, greatest of the French authorities on the subject, bases his teaching on the same theory. If the action appears in several places "il rendra son poëme ridicule par le defaut de la vraysemblance qui doit en faire le principal fondement." (p. 122.) And to represent a prince as born, married, etc., in a single play, like one of Hardy's, is to require us to imagine him marrying one "qui vraysemblablement n'estoit née que depuis l'ouverture du theatre." (p. 150.)[13]

Turning now to England, it is scarcely necessary to say that we find no such wealth of critical discussion. Not a single complete treatise on Aristotle and his *Poetics* vexed the liberties of English poets during the period when their brethren on the Continent were so weighted with instruction. But these continental treatises were of course read and

attributed to the dramatist's desire to square his own practice with the authority of the critic's law. Corneille takes "necessary" as opposed to "probable," defining it as "le besoin du poëte pour arriver à son but;"—that is, when the poet finds it too hard to keep within the law of *vraisemblance,* he takes refuge in necessity! The various remarks of Corneille on our subject will be found in the first and second of his *Discours* (*OEuvres,* ed. Marty-Laveaux, tome i, pp. 14-15, 36, 81-97). It may be worth while to quote his definition of *vraisemblance*: "une chose manifestement possible dans la bienséance, et qui n'est ni manifestement vraie ni manifestement fausse." (p. 88.)

[12] See his quotation from Scaliger's *Poetics,* to the effect that *haud verisimile est* that within a brief space of time (six or eight hours) "a tempest should arise and a shipwreck occur," etc.

[13] It is the same with Dacier (see his *Poëtique d'Aristote,* pp. 115-116). On the other hand La Motte, in his *Discours* prefatory to *Les Machabées,* dared to point out that the unities of time and place are more likely to impair *vraisemblance* than to maintain it (*Œuvres,* ed. 1754, tome iv, p. 38 *et seq.*) (La Motte's argument should be compared with John Dennis's critique on Addison's *Cato* (*Remarks on Cato,* 1711) and Dr. Johnson's defence of the Elizabethan violation of the unities, in his Preface to Shakespeare.) Though this interesting rationalist does not fall within our period, I cannot omit to call attention to his delightful use of the principle of *vraisemblance* as an argument against the use of verse in the drama (*Discours* prefatory to *Œdipe, ibid.* p. 391).

pondered by the learned in England also, and had their influence upon the classical ideal. And when so-called classicism became far more a matter of rationalism than of reverence for the past, its representatives found in the doctrine of Probability a support for theories the very opposite of what Aristotle intended when he set probability over against truth. Thus Thomas Hobbes, in his letter to Davenant regarding the latter's *Gondibert* (1650), argued against the romantic excesses of the poets,—those who exceed "the possibility of nature" in representing "impenetrable armors, enchanted castles, invulnerable bodies," and the like; and added: "For as truth is the bound of historical, so the resemblance of truth [our old friend *vraisemblance*] is the utmost limit of poetical liberty."[14]

But there was only one English critic who represented the extreme formalism of the French school in his attitude toward our subject, and he, from his savage and tasteless attacks on the great Elizabethan poets, was doomed to be held in lasting contempt. This was Thomas Rymer, whose *Tragedies of the Last Age* (1678)[15] exhibits the logical working out of the dogma of probability, especially as applied to the types of character in the drama, even to a point beyond that attained by any of the continental critics. It was Beaumont and Fletcher's *Maid's Tragedy* which Rymer found especially significant of the neglect of the study of Aristotle's precepts by the Elizabethans.[16] "Nothing in nature was ever so improbable as we find the whole conduct of this tragedy,—so far are we from any thing accurate and philosophical as poetry requires." There is a king who is utterly unkingly, and a woman who is unwomanly. "I question whether in poetry a king can be accessory to a crime;" and "tragedy cannot represent a woman without modesty as natural and essential to her." These strange utterances will be recognized as metamorphoses of Aristotle's "a person of a given character should speak or act in a given way."[17] Rymer goes further, and lays down such

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[14] Spingarn's *Critical Essays of the 17th Century*, vol. ii, p. 62.

[15] Really published 1677.

[16] "Aristotle's Treatise of Poetry," he said, " . . . was perhaps commented upon by all the great men in Italy before we well knew, on this side of the Alps, that there was such a book in being." (Spingarn's *Critical Essays*, ii, 207.)

[17] Professor Lounsbury, in his account of Rymer (*Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist*, pp. 227-240), gives an amusing outline of these doctrines, but, unfortunately, rather ridicules their external absurdities than seeks to penetrate their real character. In particular, he seems to attribute the theory as to the proper character of kings in tragedy to a desire on Rymer's part to apply to poetry "the political maxim that the king can do no wrong." There is of course no occasion to look for any explanation beyond that offered by the historic course of the doctrine we have been studying.

general rules as that "poetical decency will not suffer death to be dealt to each other by such persons whom the laws of duel allow not to enter the lists together," and that "poetry will not permit an affront where there can be no reparation."[18] These conventions remind us of some of those practiced on the French stage of the same period, but are set down rather more baldly and intolerantly than had been done by any French critic.[19] On the other hand, few English dramatists went so far as the French in observing any of the neo-classical formalities. But the observant student of the drama of the period, in both nations, will not fail to see the deadening effect of this conception of probability in the treatment of dramatic characters. To this day it impairs the enjoyment even of the tragedies of Racine, on the part of those trained to another school. If your men and women must move like the men in a game of chess,—the knight according to one fixed law, the pawn according to another—there is established a relation to human life quite different from that exhibited in the time of Shakespeare on the one hand, and of Victor Hugo on the other.[20] Indeed one turns back to Aristotle's treatise, after a season with these seventeenth-century disciples of his, and especially to that quizzical saying of Agathon's which the master twice quotes with approbation (that "it is probable that a thing may happen contrary to probability"), as to a stronghold of romanticism.

In 1679 Dryden published his Preface to *Troilus and Cressida,* containing a discussion of "the Grounds of Criticism in Tragedy." He had been doing not a little reading in the French critics, notably Rapin, and through them had renewed or extended his acquaintance with Aristotle. One result of this is found in some remarks on probability.

"The last quality of the action is, that it ought to be probable, as well as admirable and great. 'Tis not necessary that there should be historical truth in it, but always necessary that there should be a likeness of truth, something that is more than barely possible; *probable* being that which succeeds, or happens, oftener than it misses. To invent therefore a probability, and to make it wonderful, is the most difficult undertaking in

[18] Spingarn, ii, 190-195, 199.

[19] In 1693 Rymer returned to the subject, introducing into his *Short View of Tragedy* his famous attack on *Othello.* Nothing is done by Othello "that comports with the condition of a general." "But what is most intolerable is Iago,"—a villainous soldier. "Horace describes a soldier otherwise: *impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer.*" (Spingarn, ii, 273.) Again the complaint has respect to *vraisemblance* in types of character.

[20] In this connection see a significant remark of Spingarn's on the connection between the doctrine of versimilitude and the comedy of "humours." (*Criticism in the Renaissance,* p. 88.)

the art of poetry; for that which is not wonderful is not great, and that which is not probable will not delight a reasonable audience." (Ker's *Essays of John Dryden,* vol. i, p. 209.)

This comparison of the probable and the marvelous was doubtless suggested by Rapin's discussion of the subject (see on his *Reflexions,* above); and it may be that Dryden's rather curious definition of the probable is a version of Rapin's "tout ce qui est conformé a l'opinion du public." That is to say, instead of Aristotle's probable,—that which is closely related to the "necessary," which flows from the normal connection of things,—we have here a merely mathematical probable, which represents what people expect because it is the average of experience. It would naturally be more difficult to find "the marvelous" in an event probable in this latter sense.

A little later in the essay Dryden takes up the manners of tragedy, and—with a reference to Horace's *Notandi sunt tibi mores*—makes conventional observations upon the proprieties of character to be observed in the representation of age, sex, and degrees of dignity.

"Thus, when a poet has given the dignity of a king to one of his persons, in all his actions and speeches, that person must discover majesty, magnanimity, and jealousy of power, because these are suitable to the general manners of a king." (*ibid.,* p. 214.)

This sounds very Rymer-like, at first reading. But the context reveals a difference. Not only is the principle not applied to the condemnation of characters in dramas "of the last age," but we are presently told that a character "cannot be supposed to consist of one particular virtue, or vice, or passion only, but 'tis a composition of qualities which are not contrary to one another." Falstaff is instanced as an example (and imagine Rymer's opinion of such a soldier!); he is at once "a liar and a coward, a glutton, and a buffoon." Still further, the character of Œdipus, in Sophocles, shows "the true qualities of a king," but in the second of the two plays that bear his name he no longer speaks "in the arbitrary tone, but remembers . . . that he is an unfortunate blind old man." That it does not occur to Dryden that it is poetically improbable that a king should be an unfortunate blind old man, is a striking example of the good sense and genuine taste which again and again preserved him from blunders through a magnificent inconsistency of which the mere theorists were never guilty.[21]

[21] The familiarity which may be presumed with Dryden's discussion of the unities, in the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* and the *Defence,* makes it doubtful whether it need be mentioned here. But I may call attention to the close

To pass into the eighteenth century is forbidden by our title; but the matter of verisimilitude in types of character runs over the line in a way which makes it almost necessary to follow it. John Dennis, in his letters *On the Genius and Writings of Shakespeare,* (1711), shows the inheritance of the old doctrine, defending his alteration of the tragedy of *Coriolanus* on this among other grounds.

"Our author has sometimes made gross mistakes in the characters which he has drawn from history, against the equality and conveniency of manners of his dramatical persons. Witness Menenius in the following tragedy, whom he has made an errant buffoon, which is a great absurdity. For he might as well have imagined a grave majestic jack-pudding, as a buffoon in a Roman senator. Aufidius, the general of the Volscians, is shown a base and a profligate villain." (In Nichol Smith's *Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare,* p. 26.)

And he expounds with some eloquence the principle on which this objection is based,—that it is of the very nature of a "fable" (that is, a fictitious plot) to satisfy us better than a history, because of the mutual dependence of its parts and its exhibition of the true causes of events; this of course being another echo of the Aristotelian discussion of probability as a form of ideal truth.[22]

It is to the everlasting glory of Dr. Samuel Johnson, who—as is

connection beween a famous passage in the reply to Howard, and those which we have seen in the French critics applying the doctrine of the *vraisemblable* to the unities. "There is a greater vicinity in nature betwixt two rooms than betwixt two houses; betwixt two houses, than betwixt two cities; and so of the rest. Reason, therefore, can sooner be led by imagination to step from one room into another, than to walk to two distant houses, and yet rather to go thither than to fly like a witch through the air. Fancy and Reason go hand in hand; the first cannot leave the last behind; and though Fancy, when it sees the wide gulf, would venture over, as the nimbler, yet it is withheld by Reason, which will refuse to take the leap, when the distance over it appears too large. . . . So, then, the less change of place there is, the less time is taken up in transporting the persons of the drama, with analogy to reason; and in that analogy, or resemblance of fiction to truth, consists the excellency of the play." (*Defence,* Ker, vol. i, p. 128.) In the phrase "resemblance of fiction to truth" we see again the development of the idea of illusion in *verisimile.*

[22] In immediate connection with his objection to Shakespeare's want of "conveniency of manners," Dennis sets forth his want of observance of poetic justice; and the essay exemplifies very interestingly the connection between the latter dogma and that of probability. Indeed from one point of view the demand for poetic justice, like that for the unities of time and place, is a special application of the doctrine we have been studying. I cannot discuss the matter further here, but may venture to refer to an account of it given in an article on "The Decline of Poetic Justice," *Atlantic Monthly,* cv, 260 (1910).

frequently forgotten—represented the "age of common sense" in occasional vigorous opposition to formal classicism as well as to romantic licenses, that he struck a decisive blow at the doctrine of probability as applied to types of character by the neo-classical critics, in the same noble Preface in which he exposed the fallacy of illusion and the unities.

"Dennis and Rymer think [Shakespeare's] Romans not sufficiently Roman, and Voltaire censures his kings as not completely royal. Dennis is offended that Menenius, a senator of Rome, should play the buffoon; and Voltaire perhaps thinks decency violated when the Danish usurper is represented as a drunkard. But Shakespeare always makes nature predominate over accident, and if he preserves the essential character, is not very careful of distinctions superinduced and adventitious. His story requires Romans or kings, but he thinks only on men. He knew that Rome, like every other city, had men of all dispositions; and wanting a buffoon, he went into the senate-house for that which the senate-house would certainly have afforded him. He was inclined to show an usurper and a murderer not only odious, but despicable; he therefore added drunkenness to his other qualities, knowing that kings love wine like other men, and that wine exerts its natural power upon kings. These are the petty cavils of petty minds; a poet overlooks the casual distinction of country and condition, as a painter, satisfied with the figure, neglects the drapery." (*Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare*, p. 117 *et seq.*)

The doctrine of Versimilitude, then, like other forms of neo-classicism, was a distortion—sometimes slight, sometimes excessive—of a cardinal principle of poetry. That mere fact is not enough; that poetic truth transcends historical; that the events which are of universal interest are those which are connected by some form of "necessity" or law; and that the characters which are of universal interest are those in like manner which are seen to have representative significance and not merely individuality;—all these things are true, and forever have been and shall be. It has been the purpose of this paper to bring together some of the facts which indicate how these axioms of art developed morbidly; with the resulting belief that not the individual, but the *type*, because of its universality, is the only proper theme of the artist,[23] and that human passion and circumstance, no matter how moving, cannot be presented in poetry unless they conform to categories predetermined by average experience. Thus, by a singular paradox, a doctrine which arose in defence of idealism and poetic freedom became a bulwark of rationalism and formalistic restraint.

[23] As, for example, in Sir Joshua's Reynold's theory of the beautiful (see his paper in the 87th *Idler*).

THE RELATION OF THE GERMAN "GREGORIUS AUF DÉM STEIN" TO THE OLD FRENCH POEM "LA VIE DE SAINT GRÉGOIRE"

CLIFFORD GILMORE ALLEN

THE intrigue in this German version[1] (*Vb.*), in the German version of Hartmann von Aue,[2] in the French version[3] (*Fr.*), and in the Latin version found in the *Gesta Romanorum*[4] (*Gr.*) is practically identical. It is as follows:

A child is born whose father and mother are brother and sister. The father, to expiate his sins, goes on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and dies there. The mother puts the child in a barrel, together with certain tablets on which it is written that the mother of the child is at the same time his aunt, and his father his uncle. The barrel is carried to the shore of the sea and set adrift. The infant, however, is rescued. He grows up. He learns the circumstances of his birth and wishes to find his parents. He undertakes a sea voyage. The wind carries him to the shore of the land where his mother is reigning. This land is just now being besieged by a wooer for the hand of the mother. The son delivers his mother from her enemies. She marries him. When it is too late they discover the relationship existing between them, and decide to separate. The mother is to expiate her sins where she is, while Gregory goes away, miserably dressed. He meets with all sorts of hardships. Finally he permits a fisherman to place him on a desert island, where he lives seventeen years. At the end of that time the Holy See[5] is vacant, and a voice from heaven announces that our penitent is to be the successor of the late pope. In this new life Gregory is the consolation of all sinners. His mother, hearing people talk of this good man, comes to him to seek counsel and consolation. They recognize each other. A nunnery is established with Gregory's mother as abbess. They live holy lives until both give up their souls to God.

[1] Simrock, *Die deutschen Volksbücher*, XII, pp. 85-113.

[2] Edition by Hermann Paul, Halle, 1873.

[3] Edition by Luzarche, Tours, 1857.

[4] Edition by Keller, Stuggart and Tubinger, 1843, pp. 124-133.

[5] In *Vb.* a bishopric.

Gr. is closely related to our two versions. It seems safe to assume that it is a more or less direct descendant of *Fr.*[6]

It remains, then, to consider the relation of *Vb.* to the other versions.

That version dates from the 15th or 16th century.

There existed at that time the following versions of our legend:

1. *Fr.* This is doubtless a translation from a Latin original, perhaps referred to as the "histoire" (p. 96) or "estoire" (p. 118). The existing manuscripts[7] are copies of an original which dates from the 11th century.[8]

2. The version of Hartmann von Aue.

3. *Gr.*, found in the collection compiled toward the end of the 14th century.[9]

Vb. is more modern than the other versions. It appears in a territory where one or another of these versions must have been known. It seems probable, then, that it should have come from one of these versions, rather than from one of which we know nothing, and of whose very existence we are still in doubt.

In general the commentators have been of this opinion.[10] Seelisch, however, maintains that this version, while in part dependent on *Gr.*, has an independent source and represents the oldest form of the legend.[11]

According to him the legend in its simplest form appeared in Europe during the 11th or 12th century. At that time the question of marriage between relatives was frequently discussed in the Church, and a piece of fiction on this subject would not have been without interest.

[6] See Littré, *Journal des Savants*, 1858, p. 484, and Constans, *Légende d' Édipe, Paris*, 1881, p. 117. Seelisch, *Die Gregoriuslegende*, in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 1887, pp. 385-421 (cf. pp. 401-402) thinks that *Gr.* is perhaps a short reworking of the Latin version which served as a basis for *Fr.* At the same time he implies that *Fr.* was more faithful to its common origin than *Gr.*, which he calls a "kürzende Bearbeitung." Accordingly, with him, *Gr.* would be equivalent to a short reworking of *Fr.*

[7] Seelisch, *ibid.*, p. 403.

[8] Seelisch, *ibid.*, p. 392.

[9] See *Gesta Romanorum, translated by the Rev. Charles Swan and revised and corrected by Wynnard Hooper, M. A.*, London, 1906. Various stories were added to the original compilation from time to time. I have no means of knowing whether the Gregory legend was in the original collection or was added to it later.

[10] See D'Ancona, *La Leggenda di Vergogna*, Bologna, 1869, p. 36, who traces it to the poem of Hartmann von Aue, who certainly translated *Fr.* (Seelisch, *ibid.*, p. 404) and Kölbing, *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Geschichte der romantischen Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters*, Breslau, 1876, p. 43, who thinks it comes from *Gr.*

[11] *ibid.*, pp. 385-421.

Seelisch sees five stages in the development of the legend, as follows:

1. The hero is a bishop.

2. He receives the name of Gregory. This is the stage found in *Vb.*

3. The character of the fisherman who illtreats Gregory is invented, also the episode of the key found in the fish's stomach.

4. The bishop becomes a pope.

5. Finally from the hand of an Aquitanian the legend received the form represented in *Fr.*

Seelisch gives us a theory. He sees a development from the simple to the complex. This theory has not been disputed; accordingly it seems well worth while to reconsider the matter.

As for his stages of development: The hero may as well have been called Gregory in the prototype. Again, the episode of the key would have been more likely to please at an earlier than at a later epoch. As to the question of "bishop or pope," we have here a question of difference of religion. France in the 12th century was Catholic. It is natural that the hero of a religious legend should be the pope. Germany during the 15th and 16th centuries was more or less Protestant. Then if *Vb.* was derived from a version where the hero was pope, it would be natural to replace this title by that of a dignitary recognized by the Protestants.

One easily finds traces of this inclination of *Vb.* toward protestantism, as p. 104, "und beichte Gott als dem höchsten Priester deine vielfaltigen unbekannten Missenthaten," a sentiment which is lacking in *Fr.*, or p. 110, where the mother thinks of confessing her sins to Saint Gregory and says: "Wem will ich meine Sünder sicherer offenbaren und von wem werde ich bessern Trost empfangen als eben von diesem barmherzigen Bischof?" Here the mother wishes to confess her sins in order to relieve her mind. In *Fr.*, p. 112, she wishes to be absolved.

" . . . voleit prendre cure
Que des pechez se descharjast."

One could also compare *Vb.* (p. 111) where Gregory says to his mother: "Ich verkundige euch an Gottes Statt, dass er uns unsere Sünden verziehen habe" with *Fr.* (p. 114) where the mother kisses the feet, rather of the pope than of her son, and he,

"Selonc sa bonne conscience
Li a enjoint penitence."

It should also be noted that in the passage where Gregory is made pope or bishop *Vb.* is following *Gr.* very closely.

The present study aims to show the relations existing between *Fr.* and *Vb.*

Fr., *Gr.* and *Vb.* follow each other even in the minute details. A few examples will make this plain.

a. The benediction of Gregory's grandfather is accorded to Gregory's father only on the condition that the latter will honour his own sister. (*Fr.*, p. 5, *Gr.*, p. 124, *Vb.*, p. 85.)

b. The knight's wife who protects Gregory's mother is obliged to swear to keep secret the facts concerning Gregory's birth. (*Fr.*, p. 19, *Gr.*, p. 125, *Vb.*, p. 88.)

c. The child Gregory was very beautiful. (*Fr.*, p. 20, *Gr.*, p. 126, *Vb.*, p. 89.)

d. The infant Gregory smiles when he is discovered in the barrel. (*Fr.*, p. 37, *Gr.*, p. 127, *Vb.*, p. 91.)

e. As soon as Gregory learns the facts concerning his birth he wishes to leave his friend the abbot. The abbot tries to persuade him to stay and promises that on his own death Gregory shall be named abbot in his stead. (*Fr.*, p. 47, *Gr.*, p. 129, *Vb.*, p. 94.)

f. The suitor for the hand of Gregory's mother has taken from her her entire territory with the exception of one city. (*Fr.*, p. 54, *Gr.*, p. 129, *Vb.*, p. 97.)

g. The mother is advised to marry her benefactor, who is at the same time her son. (*Fr.*, p. 66, *Gr.*, p. 130, *Vb.*, p. 99.)

h. As soon as the land is pacified Gregory asks to be paid and dismissed. (*Fr.*, p. 68, *Gr.*, p. 129, *Vb.*, p. 99.)

i. One of the mother's maids observes Gregory's sadness, and speaks of it to her mistress. (*Fr.*, p. 71, *Gr.*, p. 130, *Vb.*, p. 101.)

j. Gregory, miserably dressed, flees during the night. (*Fr.*, p. 85, *Gr.*, p. 131, *Vb.*, p. 106.)

k. The fisherman thinks Gregory is not what he seems to be. (*Fr.*, p. 86, *Gr.*, p. 131, *Vb.*, p. 106.)

l. It is because of the prayers of his wife that the fisherman finally consents to receive Gregory in his house. (*Fr.*, p. 87, *Gr.*, p. 131, *Vb.*, p. 106.)

m. The fisherman mockingly suggests the desert isle as a refuge for Gregory. (*Fr.*, p. 93, *Gr.*, p. 131, *Vb.*, p. 107.)

These and other examples of similarity of detail are very striking. They could be explained only by assuming that the three versions in question came from a comon original, or that one of these is the original from which the others are derived.

I believe that *Vb.* is a free translation of *Gr.* Pointing toward this

conclusion we have the statement of the author or translator, who (p. 105) speaks of an "alte römische Geschichte," doubtless the *Gesta Romanorum,* where he finds his material.

There are also other facts which point in the same direction, such as the folowing:

1. Many episodes which occupy considerable space in *Fr.* are dismissed with a few lines in *Gr.* and *Vb.* Such are:

a. The writing on the tablets. (*Fr.,* pp. 22-24, *Gr.,* p. 126, *Vb.,* p. 90.)

b. The description of the exposure of Gregory in the barrel. (*Fr.,* pp. 22-26, *Gr.,* p. 126, *Vb.,* p. 90.)

c. The description of the battle at the gates of the city. (*Fr.,* pp. 58-67, *Gr.,* p. 129, *Vb.,* p. 99.)

d. The story of the voyage in the barrel. (*Fr.,* p. 73, *Gr.,* p. 127, *Vb.,* p. 91.)

e. The conversation of the fisherman who advises Gregory to seek an asylum on the desert isle. (*Fr.,* p. 93, *Gr.,* p. 131, *Vb.,* p. 107.)

The author of *Fr.* would have a tendency to amplify these details in order to give his work such length as compositions of this sort demanded. On the other hand a writer translating these episodes from poetry to prose would not have this preoccupation, and would try rather to be as brief as possible.

2. Often there is a difference in the three versions, such as to lead one to believe in a successive change from *Fr.* to *Vb.* through *Gr.* Examples are:

a. In *Fr.* (p. 13) the brother suggests to the sister the idea of asking counsel from the knight. In *Gr.* (p. 125) it is the sister who proposes the same thing to her brother. In *Vb.* (p. 87) the sister sends for the knight after the departure of the brother.

b. In *Fr.* (p. 17) the brother, before his departure, appoints his sister as regent during his absence and commends her to the good will of his vassals. The episode is much shorter in *Gr.* (p. 125), and lacking entirely in *Vb.*

c. In *Fr.* (p. 33) the abbot has sent two men out to fish on the sea and they find the barrel in which Gregory is floating. In *Gr.* (p. 127), he is with them on the shore when the barrel appears. In *Vb.* (p. 90) all three are out fishing when they first see the barrel.

d. One could also cite the successive decrease in the importance of the role of Gregory's father in passing from *Fr.* to *Vb.* through *Gr.*

These phenomena are easy to explain if *Fr.* is the original. If *Vb.* represented the oldest form of the legend *Fr.* would hardly have created such an episode as *b.*

3. Very often *Fr.* agrees with *Gr.* against *Vb.*

a. In *Fr.* (p. 4) and in *Gr.* (p. 124) the grandfather calls his children and the knights of his kingdom to his death-bed. In *Vb.* (p. 85), only the children.

b. A picture of the private life of Gregory's father and mother is seen in *Fr.* (p. 7) and *Gr.* (p. 124). This is lacking in *Vb.*

c. In *Fr.* (p. 15) and *Gr.* (p. 125) the father and mother confess their sins to the knight. In *Vb.* (p. 88) only the mother.

d. In *Fr.* (p. 16) and *Gr.* (p. 125) the knight advises the father to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. In *Vb.* (p. 86) it is God.

e. In *Fr.* (p. 16) and *Gr.* (p. 125) Gregory's father confides the kingdom to the mother before setting out for the Holy Land. This detail is lacking in *Vb.*

f. After Gregory is set adrift in the barrel, *Fr.* (p. 27) and *Gr.* (p. 126) tell of the death of the father and the importunity of the suitors. *Vb.* passes directly to the discovery of the barrel by the monks.

g. In *Fr.* (p. 94) and *Gr.* (p. 132) is found the episode of the irons and the key, which is lacking in *Vb.*

h. In *Fr.* (p. 113) and *Gr.* (p. 133) Gregory does not test his mother as in *Vb.* (p. 110) before telling her of their relationship.

These examples show that *Fr.* is more closely related to *Gr.* than to *Vb.*

4. On the other hand *Gr.* often agrees with *Vb.* against *Fr.*

a. In *Gr.* (p. 124) Gregory's grandfather is called Marcus. In *Vb.* (p. 88) he is called Marcus and is the "Herzog" of Ferrara. In *Fr.* (p. 4) he is the "comte d' Aquitaine."

b. In *Gr.* (p. 124) and *Vb.* (p. 86) the brother declares that he will die unless he can do as he wills with the sister. The idea is lacking in *Fr.*

c. In *Gr.* (pp. 124-125) and *Vb.* (p. 86) the sister counsels her brother wisely and recalls the last admonitions of their father. In *Fr.* she says nothing.

d. In *Gr.* (p. 126) and *Vb.* (p. 87) the knight wishes to have the infant Gregory baptized. In *Fr.* this is not discussed.

e. In *Gr.* (p. 126) and *Vb.* (p. 90) the similarity of the writing on the tablets placed in the barrel with Gregory is very striking. In *Fr.* (pp. 22-24) the writing is longer.

f. In *Gr.* (p. 126) and *Vb.* (p. 90) the barrel is placed in the water. In *Fr.* (p. 26) in a boat.

g. In *Gr.* (p. 128) and *Vb.* (p. 91) the child is baptized immediately after he is found by the monks. This is wanting in *Fr.*

h. In *Gr.* (p. 127) and *Vb.* (p. 96) the suitor for the hand of Gregory's mother is the duke of Burgundy. In *Fr.* (p. 32) it is a "duc de Raains."[12]

i. In *Gr.* (p. 129) and *Vb.* (p. 93) the abbot shows Gregory the tablets as soon as the latter suspects the facts concerning his birth. In *Fr.* (pp. 48-51) he does this when Gregory has decided to go away and has been knighted.

j. In *Gr.* (p. 128) and *Vb.* (p. 92) Gregory wishes to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land to expiate the sins of his parents. In *Fr.* (p. 52) he simply goes away on the sea.

k. In *Gr.* (p. 129) and *Vb.* (p. 99) the duke who wages war against Gregory's mother is killed. In *Fr.* (pp. 58-67) he is made prisoner.

l. In *Gr.* (p. 131) and *Vb.* (p. 105) the mother wishes to give up her kingdom and go to the Holy Land to expiate her sins. Gregory departs only after having persuaded his mother to remain. In *Fr.* (p. 84) Gregory departs without saying anything.

m. In *Gr.* (p. 132) and *Vb.* (p. 107) a voice from heaven tells the electors to choose Gregory for pope or bishop. In *Fr.* (p. 100) it is an angel.

These examples show clearly that *Vb.* is more closely related to *Gr.* than to *Fr.*

5. The parts of *Fr.* which are lacking in *Gr.* are also lacking in *Vb.* Such passages are:

a. The story of the death of the grandmother (p. 4). This character is completely lacking in *Gr.* and *Vb.*

b. The mother will end her days if she is not permitted to do as she wills with her child (p. 21).

c. The deceptive procedure of the abbot, who wishes to conceal the truth as to Gregory's origin (pp. 38-40).

d. The episode of the wife of the fisherman who adopted Gregory. She gave her husband no rest until he told her all he knew about Gregory's birth (p. 42).

e. The abbot, to persuade Gregory to remain, promises him not only his own place after his death as in the *Gesta* and *Vb.*, but lands, riches, and a marriage in a noble family (p. 49).

f. The search for a secret place to conceal the tablets (pp. 69-71).

g. The conversation of Gregory, who wishes to partake only of the meanest food, and of the fisherman who mocks him (pp. 88-89).

[12] In ms. B (81-3) a "duc qui fud romain." The two mss. should agree. One or the other has been corrupted by the copyist.

h. Gregory will not leave the rock until the tablets are found (p. 107).

These examples show what is general. *Fr*. has no tendency to agree with *Vb*. against *Gr*.

6. The parts of *Vb*. which are lacking in *Gr*. are also lacking in *Fr*. Such are the numerous moralizations, as:

a. p. 87, on the death of Gregory's father.

b. p. 95, on fate which brings Gregory to the land of his mother. This is God's will.

c. p. 104, on the idea that one may sin without knowing it, with quotations from the Bible.

d. p. 108, on the goodness of Gregory, who atones for the sins of his parents.

e. pp. 111-112, on the idea that God leads his elect over a narrow and rough path, because it is the safest road to heaven.

These were added by the German translator, who was fond of moralizing.

These examples show from another point of view what has been indicated in (5). *Vb*. has no tendency to agree with *Fr*. against *Gr*.

One could multiply the examples under these six heads. They show a condition which exists throughout the three versions.

Our conclusions then are as follows:

A. The fact that *Vb*. is simpler than *Fr*. does not prove that it is older. A writer of the 15th or 16th century, reworking in prose an older composition, would be tempted to simplify it. The German translator deviated from his original in certain cases because of his religion.

B. I have shown that *Fr*., *Gr*., and *Vb*. are very closely related. I have also shown (1) that certain cases where *Gr*. and *Vb*. are shorter than *Fr*. are due to the fact that the translators abbreviated intentionally; (2) that where the three versions differ it is often possible to see a continuous development of the deviation from *Fr*. to *Vb*. through *Gr*.; (3) that *Fr*. often agrees with *Gr*. against *Vb*., and (4) that *Gr*. often agrees with *Vb*. against *Fr*.; accordingly that *Gr*. must lie between *Fr*. and *Vb*.; (5) that where *Fr*. fails to agree with *Gr*. it also fails to agree with *Vb*.; and (6) that where *Vb*. fails to agree with *Gr*. it also fails to agree with *Fr*. These two facts corroborate the conclusion derived from (3) and (4).

Now as *Gr*. is a translation of *Fr*., the only possible conclusion is that *Vb*. is a translation of *Gr*. Accordingly *Vb*. if of minor importance and *Fr*. must be regarded as the oldest form of the legend.

SPENSER'S "FAERIE QUEENE," III, ii, AND BOCCACCIO'S "FIAMMETTA"

WILLIAM DINSMORE BRIGGS

SPENSER drew from many sources that have been pointed out. I do not think that the indebtedness of Faerie Queene, III, ii, to the Fiammetta of Boccaccio has yet been noticed.

The Fiammetta is an interesting and remarkable work that displays on the part of its author a power of close psychological observation and analysis somewhat akin to that of Henry James, and is in the form of a narrative of emotional experiences undergone by the teller of the story, Fiammetta herself. Engaged in a liaison with Panfilo, she is, though rich, noble, and beautiful, deserted by him under pretence that he must for the short space of three or four months attend upon his father, who in his old age desires the presence of his only remaining son. Panfilo, however, never returns, and Fiammetta, who has loved him passionately, relates for the benefit of easily deceived womankind the emotional history of the episode, how first she fell in love with Panfilo, how she came to sacrifice for him her wifely honor, how she felt deep dejection during the early period of his absence, and how, when he did not return at the appointed time, bewildered anxiety and finally profound despair overcame her.

Of course Spenser in the canto referred to relates no such harrowing story. Britomart has seen the image of Arthegal in the magic mirror and is smitten with deep love for him. Perturbed by a series of emotions wholly new to her, she displays signs of mental struggle readily perceptible to the eager solicitude of her nurse Glauce. As a result of the ensuing conversation, Glauce suggests the visit to Merlin's cavern, there to learn what may be the outcome of so strange a situation.

Fiammetta, it may be observed, has several conversations with her foster-mother, and it is in one of these that there occur certain resemblances worth taking note of. Before doing so, however, one might consider F. Q. III, ii, 27-8:

> Thenceforth the fether in her lofty crest,
> Ruffed of love, gan lowly to availe,
> And her prowd portaunce and her princely gest,
> With which she earst tryumphed, now did quaile:

Sad, solemne, sowre, and full of fancies fraile
She woxe; . . .
But sleepe full far away from her did fly:
In stead thereof sad sighes and sorrowes deepe
Kept watch and ward about her warily,
That nought she did but wayle, and often steepe
Her dainty couch with teares, which closely she did weepe.

Compare Fiammetta, pp. 28-9 (my only accessible text is that of the Biblioteca Classica Economica): Egli allora in me le fiamme accese facea più vive . . . ma in questo non era sì lieto il principio, che la fine non rimanesse più trista, qualora della vista di quello rimanea privata: perciocchè li occhi, della loro allegrezza privati, davano al cuore nojosa cagione di dolersi, di che i sospiri, in quantità ed in qualità diventavano maggiori, ed il disio, quasi ogni mio sentimento occupando, mi toglieva di me medesima. . . . Ed oltre a questo sovente la notturna quiete ed il continovo cibo togliendomi, alcuna volta ad atti più furiosi che súbiti, ed a parole mi moveano inusitate.

xxix.

And if that any drop of slombring rest
Did chaunce to still into her weary spright,
When feeble nature felt her selfe opprest,
Streight way with dreames, and with fantastick sight
Of dreadfull things, the same was put to flight,
That oft out of her bed she did astart,
As one with vew of ghastly feends affright:
Tho gan she to renew her former smart,
And thinke of that fayre visage, written in her hart.

Fiammetta has many evil dreams, as on p. 70: Le quali [le notti] sovente, o tutte o gran parte di loro, io passava senza dormire, continovamente, o piangendo, o pensando consumandole: e qualora pure avveniva che io dormissi, diversamente era da' sogni occupata, alcuni lieti vegnenti, ed alcuni tristissimi. And again, p. 73: Non veniva, ancorchè il sonno venisse, però in me la disiata pace, anzi, in luogo de' pensieri e delle lagrime, mille visioni piene d'infinite paure mi spaventavano. Io credo che niuna furia rimanesse nella città di Dite, che in diversi modi e terribili già più volte non mi si mostrasse, diversi mali minacciando, e spesso, col loro orribile aspetto i miei sonni rompendo, di che io, quasi per non vederle, mi contentava.

It is important that in both stories the nurse detects these signs of mental distress.

xxx.

. . . . . .
'Ah! my deare daughter, ah! my dearest dread,
What uncouth fit,' sayd she, 'what evill plight,
Hath thee opprest, and with sad drearyhead
Chaunged thy lively cheare, and living made thee dead?

xxxi.

'For not of nought these suddein ghastly feares
All night afflict thy naturall repose.'

Fiammetta, p. 29: O figliuola a me come me medesima cara, quali sollecitudini, da poco tempo in qua ti stimolano? Tu niuna ora trapassi senza sospiri, la quale altra volta lieta, e senza alcuna malinconia sempre vedere solea.

xxxiii.

'Ay me! how much I feare least love it bee!'

Fiammetta, p. 29: elli non ti è bisogno celarmi quello che io, già sono più giorni, in te manifestamente conobbi.

xli.

'Not so th' Arabian Myrrhe did sett her mynd,
Nor so did Biblis spend her pining hart,
But lov'd their native flesh against al kynd,
And to their purpose used wicked art:
Yet playd Pasiphaë a more monstrous part,
That lov'd a bul, and learnd a beast to bee:
Such shamefull lusts who loaths not, which depart
From course of nature and of modestee?
Swete Love such lewdnes bands from his faire companee.

Fiammetta, p. 35: Bastiti solamente, o giovane, che di non abominevole fuoco, come Mirra, Semiramis, Bibli, Canace, e Cleopatra fece, ti molesti. Niuna cosa nuova dal nostro [it is Venus speaking to Fiammetta in a vision] figliuolo verso te sarà operata: egli ha così leggi, come qualunque altro Iddio. A few lines before Venus had mentioned also Pasiphaë.

A still more significant parallel is the following. In the stanza just quoted, Glauce was attempting to console Britomart by contrasting her love with such unnatural passions as those enumerated. Britomart replies in stanza xliii:

'Beldame, your words doe worke me litle ease;
For though my love be not so lewdly bent
As those ye blame, yet may it nought appease
My raging smart, ne ought my flame relent,
But rather doth my helpelesse griefe augment.
For they, how ever shamefull and unkinde,
Yet did possesse their horrible intent:
Short end of sorowes they therby did finde;
So was their fortune good, though wicked were their minde.

xliv.

'But wicked fortune mine, though minde be good,
Can have no end, nor hope of my desire,
But feed on shadowes,' etc.

In the last part of her narrative, Fiammetta attempts to win sympathy from her readers by contrasting her love affair with all the great love affairs of antiquity, and showing in how much more pitiable a case she is than any of those famous heroines. In the course of this comparison, Myrrha, Biblis, and Canace are once more spoken of, and Fiammetta (p. 128) goes on: e meco stessa pensando bene all' angoscia di ciascuna, senza alcun dubbio grandissime le discerno, avvengachè abominevoli fossero i loro amori. Ma, se ben considero, io le veggo finite, o per finire in corto spazio, perciocchè Mirra nell' albero del suo nome, avendo gli Dii secondi al suo disio, senza alcuno indugio fuggendo fu permutata, nè più (ancor che egli sempre lagrimi, siccome ella allora che mutò forma faceva) alcuna delle sue pene sentì; e così come la cagione di dolersi venne, così quella giunse che le tolse la doglia. Biblis similmente . . . . . Che dunque dirò, mostrando la mia pena molto maggiore che quella di queste donne, se non che la brevità della loro dalla lunghezza della mia molto è avanzata?

In stanza xlvi Glauce advises Britomart to fight against 'the growing evill, ere it strength have gott.' 'Against it strongly strive, and yield thee nott, Til thou in open fielde adowne be smott.' This advice is perhaps a little inconsistent with the earlier tone of Glauce's speeches, since she had apparently approved Britomart's passion and even encouraged her by showing its innocence and suggesting the likelihood that the original of the image might be found out with no great difficulty. I am inclined, perhaps too sanguinely, to see here an echo of the remonstrance urged so often by the nurse of Fiammetta, particularly in such a passage as this, p. 30: mi piace di ricordarti e di pregarti, che tu del casto petto esturbi e cacci via le cose nefande, e ispegnia le disoneste fiamme, . . .

e ora è tempo da resistere con forza, però che chi nel principio bene contrastette, cacciò il villano amore, etc.

A resemblance to which I call attention merely for the sake of completing the list of those that I have observed is that Glauce employs without success enchantments for the purpose of expelling love from Britomart's breast, while Fiammetta employs them as vainly, p. 118, in order to influence her recreant lover.

This discussion does not of course prove that Spenser was imitating Boccaccio, nor is it in the least intended to do so. Nor can we say as a result of it that Spenser was consciously making use of Boccaccio. I think, however, it does establish a likelihood not merely that he had, as is on *a priori* grounds quite probable, at some time or other read the Fiammetta attentively, but that reminiscences of that reading came quite naturally to hand when dealing with the subject of the second canto of Book III. It is not surprising that such should have been the case, that the Fiammetta should have made some impression upon Spenser. Boccaccio's work, if we look aside from certain rhetorical expansions of the theme such as chapter viii, and if we consider what obstacles were set in the way of close analysis of real passion by the conventional conception of the relation of lover to mistress (compare the relatively stereotyped Ameto), was the product of a hand as sure and an insight as delicately penetrant as were those that created Clarissa Harlowe.

SOME PHASES OF MARTIAL'S LITERARY ATTITUDE

JEFFERSON ELMORE

WE MAY first consider[1] the grounds of Martial's preference for the epigram. He was confined to this type, it is sometimes said, by consciousness of intellectual limitations, exercising thereby "a wise restraint."[2] What Martial himself says, however, hardly warrants this impression. He but seldom depreciates his literary talents,[3] his prevalent mood being rather of an opposite character. Moreover, he more than once distinctly asserts his ability to practice the higher literary forms such as the epic and tragedy. "What immortal verse I could have written," he says, "what blasts of war I could have blown on Pierian trumpet," if only happier conditions of life had been present.[4] Indeed, (though he is here speaking with humorous exaggeration) he began with the epic, but was driven from this field and also from tragedy by the insistent imitation of Tucca.[5]

It is in contrast to tragedy and the epic that Martial usually expresses his preference for the epigram. It is clear, however, that he has not in mind the epos in general, not the work of Vergil, who is to him the supreme poet,[6] nor even that of Lucan and Silius Italicus, for both of whom he has apparently the greatest admiration,[7] but he thinks rather of certain fashionable contemporary forms, such as the long drawn epic with its mythological theme. The epigram is superior to these, first, in the fact that it makes a much wider appeal. Long epics and bombastic tragedies, though greeted with words of praise and read by the pompous schoolmaster to his pupils,[8] arouse no real interest either in ingenuous

[1] References to the poet's own literary experiences and judgments appear in 117 of the 1172 epigrams of books I-XII. These "notices" form the basis of the present paper. Though often drawn upon by editors and critics, as far as I am aware they have not been brought together with a view to basing statements of Martial's attitude in literary matters on all the evidence of this character. Criticism thus not seldom rests on a too narrow foundation, as in the statement of Mackail, (Latin Literature, p. 194), based apparently on a single epigram, I 16, that "to his own work Martial extends the same tolerance with which he views the follies and vices of society." Compare the remarks of Nisard (Poëtes Latins de la Décadence, p. 329 ff.).

[2] Stephenson, Introd. XIX Cf. Post, Introd. XXVI.

[3] Cf. I 16, 1; III 100, 4; XIII 2, 9. [4] XI 3, 7. Cf. V 16, 1 Seria cum possim . . .

[5] XII 94. [6] XI 52, 18. [7] IV 14, VII 21; 22; 23. [8] VIII 3, 15.

youth or in the general public. Epigrams, on the other hand, as experience showed, are taken up and read with eagerness by all classes of society.[9] To Martial, to whom literature is a means (among other things) of getting on in the world,[10] a medium through which he can appeal to the public, to distinguished men,[11] to the emperor himself,[12] is very much to his hand.

Epigrams are not only more interesting than the usual epics or tragedies, but their subject-matter is also more useful. Savage or frivolous tales have no profit, whereas short sketches of real life may be full of instruction and guidance. This point is emphasized in two notable epigrams. In one[13] addressing the reader the poet says, "When you are reading of Oedipus and Thyestes and Medea and the Scyllas, are you not dealing with the monstrous creations of fable? What profit will there be to you in the story of Hylas or Parthenopaeus or Attis, or even in that of the sleeping Endymion? Read rather this book of mine of which life itself could say, 'I am its author.' You will not find centaurs or gorgons or harpies, but pages steeped in human nature."

Again, in the fullness of his fame, the poet had thought with the completion of the seventh book to lay down the pen of the epigrammatist, but the Muse forbids.[14] "Continue," she bids him, "to season thy charming volumes with Roman wit and let life as she reads recognize herself. And though thou mayest seem to play on but a slender pipe, this reed of thine may vanquish many a brazen trumpet."

The reference here to a longer survival in the future points to a third respect in which Martial asserts the superiority of the epigram, namely, that it is a higher form of art. In the first place it requires greater skill on the part of the author. "He makes a great mistake who regards epigrams as mere trifles. The trifler is rather the man who writes about the feast of the cruel Tereus, or the banquet of the unnatural Thyestes, or of Daedalus fitting waxen wings to his son, or of Polyphemus pasturing his Sicilian flocks. From my work, however, is banished all this swelling bombast."[15] Martial expresses his conviction on this point also in terms of sculpture. Comparing his own work to twelve books on the ancient wars of Priam is like comparing the famous marble (or bronze) boy of Brutus to a huge giant in clay.[16]

In the practice of this special literary type Martial gives frequent expression to the feeling that he is working in the line of a definite tradition. He appeals to precedent to defend himself against certain

[9] XI 24, 6-8.
[10] I 5.
[11] VI 1.
[12] V 1.
[13] X 4.
[14] VIII 3, 19.
[15] IV 49.
[16] IX 50, 5.

criticisms. To one who finds the epigrams too long he cites the example of Marsus and Pedo, who often extended single poems over two whole pages.[17] So also in meeting the more serious charge of licentiousness he resorts to the same argument. That this wantonness of speech (which is also characteristic of the stage)[18] is employed in epigrams addressed even to persons in the highest position[19] is admitted by the poet, but he does not apologize for it, because he did not himself invent the custom.[20] Then again for the confusion of the prudish reader he quotes the six lascivious lines of Augustus himself.[21] Finally he appeals to the precedent of Lucan, "the glory of our Helicon," who, though sounding savage wars on Pierian trumpet, has not blushed to turn aside and in lighter verse to disport himself most wantonly.[22] Martial also refers to tradition for the purpose of showing that in some respects at least he has improved upon the earlier practice. One relates to the structure of his verse. He does not tolerate the harshness which is found in the older poets like Lucilius, Accius, and Pacuvius, and which does not constitute true vigor.[23] He does not waste time in constructing ingenious verses that may be read backwards, nor does he imitate the effeminate Galliambic in the Attis of Catullus.[24] In not disregarding through poetic license the quantity of syllables he is more careful than the Greeks.[25] He is also superior to his predecessors in the consideration he shows for actual persons by the use of fictitious names. The older poets were wont to employ not only real names in their attacks but also great ones.[26] He will not even reveal the identity of Postumus, a name which frequently occurs, for fear of giving offense.[27] His verse, he keeps saying, injures no one, though some mentioned by way of praise have been given undying fame. Vices, not persons, are the object of his satire.[28]

Consideration of Martial's relation to his predecessors raises the important question whether with respect to the form of the epigram as a whole he was also working in the line of tradition. There has been a wide-spread opinion that through the use of the so-called point he created a new type of epigram. Lessing[29] maintained that he was the first to practice the epigram as a special type, a view which is quoted with approval by Friedländer.[30] "Until he wrote," says Aly,[31] also quoting

[17] II 77, 5. [18] III 86, 3. [19] Praef. VIII, 10.
[20] Praef. I, 10. [21] XI 20, 3-8. [22] X 64, 3-6.
[23] XI 90. [24] II 86, 1-6. [25] IX 11, 16.
[26] Praef. I, 5. [27] II 23. [28] V 15, 2; VII 12, 3; X 9, 2; 33, 10.
[29] *Anmerkungen über das Epigramm.* Sämtliche Schriften (ed. Lachmann) XI 257. Martial . . . war der erste der sich eine deutliche, feste Idee von dem Epigramme machte.
[30] Einleitung, 18. [31] Geschichte der Römischen Literatur, p. 286.

Lessing with approval, "there was really no epigrammatist." Bernhardy[32] calls him the discoverer and master of the pointed epigram, while Butler in his recent work[33] speaks of him as the father of the modern epigram. Martial "was able," says Post,[34] "to fix forever the character of this particular literary form."

Martial himself, however, makes no mention of this originality, though it might be expected that he would do so. He was, as we know, one of the most self-conscious of authors. He exploits himself and his work in the most extensive and unreserved fashion, and yet he nowhere gives any intimation that he is the inventor of a new literary type. It must also be remembered that there were contemporary writers of epigram. Were these imitators of Martial or was his work different in kind from theirs? There is no evidence of either of these things. To these fellow workers of his Martial hands out both praise and blame, the latter, as might be expected, in great predominance. One writes on both sides of the paper;[35] another cannot even compose a distich that is not too long;[36] another is uniformly bad;[37] another (in moral tone) is uniformly good but lacking even a touch of biting wit;[37a] still another has not the courage to publish at all,[38] while one has the distinction of being superior to Martial himself, but does not publicly enter the field out of courtesy to his friend.[39] In all this there is no suggestion of imitation on the one hand or of the possession of a peculiar form of epigram on the other.

The argument from silence raises a presumption against the accepted view. The crucial question of course is whether the type of epigram employed by Martial can be traced in an earlier author. For this purpose we require first of all to know what forms of the epigram Martial really employed. An analysis will show that in some cases (though they are comparatively few) the so-called point is virtually lacking.[40] If such pieces as I 113, where Martial informs his readers that his youthful poems could be obtained from Q. Pollius Valerianus, or IV 25, in which he hopes to spend his old age at Altinum, or V 44, in which he chides a fickle dinner guest, should be found elsewhere they would hardly be associated with the pointed epigram. Note also IX 11, which is a series of hendecasyllabic lines quite "pointless" at the end.

The bulk of Martial's work, however, is distinguished for its "point,"

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[32] Grundriss, p. 658. [33] Post-Augustan Poetry, pp. 258-9.
[34] Introduction, XXV. [35] VIII 62, 1. [36] II 77, 8. [37] VII 90, 4.
[37a] VII 25, 3. [38] I 91, 2; 110, 2. [39] VIII 18, 4.
[40] Cf. I 52; 113; 116; III 6; IV 13; 25; 45; 54; VI 25; 58; 85; VIII 27; IX 11, 74.

which may be regarded as essentially a striking method of conclusion and which may be related in various ways to what precedes. It may be, for example, a comment or judgment of the author on some foregoing situation, fact, or event;[41] it may be an antithesis,[42] a reason or explanation,[43] a result or consequence,[44] an exhortation,[45] a climax,[46] a retort,[47] the second member of a comparison,[48] a choice of alternatives,[49] the solution of a difficulty,[50] an illustration or example,[51] a specific statement or a general principle.[52] These categories,[53] which are not at all numerous considering the large number of the epigrams, give certain definite types of structure within the range of which the poet's chief work is done. The question is whether any of these types are to be found outside of Martial. One turns at once to Catullus. Here the way is smoothed by the recent recognition[54] of the fact that Catullus is himself primarily an epigrammatist, the claims of Horace to the primacy of the Latin lyric being thus left undisputed. If the hendecasyllabic pieces of Catullus be examined they will be found to reveal several types of structure which are characteristic of Martial. In c. 26 we have an example of a point which consists in the comment of the author on a preceding fact. Furius has exposed his house not to the blasts of real winds, west, east, or north, but to the drafts of creditors. "And what an awful, fatal draft it is," adds the author by way of comment and conclusion. In Martial III 52, Tongilianus has lost his house by fire but has received more than the cost in donations. "I suspect," he adds by way of point, "that you set the fire with your own hands." Likewise when Apicius[55] commits suicide because he cannot think of sustaining life on his remaining ten millions, Martial makes the "point" by remarking quite after the manner of Catullus how befitting an epicure such an action was. In c. 4 Catullus employs the method of antithesis, the conclusion contrasting the old age, so to speak, of the yacht with its adventures of former times. So in c. 95 (written in elegiacs) where the judicious applaud the work of Cinna, but the populace take pleasure in the pompous Antimachus. In c. 3 the point is exhibited as result or consequence, the lament for the sparrow being concluded by a striking

[41] V 35. [42] VII 9. [43] IX 22.
[44] VII 13. [45] III 16. [46] IX 13.
[47] II 58. [48] IV 14. [49] VI 81.
[50] III 38. [51] VII 49. [52] VI 70.

[53] The categories given here and based on an analysis of the epigrams in books I-IX do not altogether exhaust the list.

[54] Cf. Smith, Amer. Jour. Phil. XXXI p. 225; Canter Class Jour. VI 201. For the wide range of the epigram in general see U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Die Griechische Literatur des Altertums*, pp. 139 fol.

[55] III 22.

reference to the weeping eyes of Lesbia.[56] As an example of a point which is an exhortation to some action in view of the preceding statement or fact, we may take c. 5. "Life is short," the poet says to Lesbia, "and there is nothing beyond. Let us therefore enjoy our love to the utmost." c. 84 illustrates the process of constructing an epigram by means of the climax. Arrius in his fondness for the "h" says not only *chommoda,* and *hinsidias,* but also *Hionios.* In c. 10 we find the epigram consisting of a pointed incident in which dialogue is also employed in true epigrammatic fashion. Finally in c. 70 the point is a general principle including and explaining a specific instance. "My beloved," says the poet, "declares she will never marry though Jupiter himself seek her hand. So she says, but a woman's words to an ardent wooer are written on sand or in running water."

In Catullus then we find certain forms of the epigram which are employed by Martial with great frequency. If this be true, the pointed epigram as a literary type did not originate with Martial. In his hands with his powerful massing of striking details it becomes something distinctive and characteristic, but it is still in the line of tradition.

That Martial was under great technical obligations to Catullus is shown by his imitation of the latter's language and style, a phase of the subject which has been set forth by Paukstadt. Martial himself does not refer directly to obligations of this sort except possibly in the one case where he pleads the example of his predecessor to justify the licentiousness of some of his work.[57] A question which has not received sufficient consideration is the ground of Martial's admiration for Catullus. The latter is *argutus,*[58] *doctus,*[59] *lepidus,*[60] *tener,*[61] *tenuis,*[62] and finally *vates,*[63] the inspired bard. His place too in the world of letters is an ideal to which Martial constantly aspires. He would be to his own Bilbilis what Catullus had been to Verona, and he sends a copy of his book to Silius Italicus in the spirit in which he imagined Catullus might have offered his work to Vergil.[65] In reading some of his verses to a friend, it annoyed him to have the latter reply with a passage from Catullus, making unconsciously a comparison which no modern author could sustain with credit.[66] He wishes to be recommended to the emperor as one who has added to the glory of the age, and who is not much inferior to Marsus and Catullus;[67] it is next to these that he desires his books stand in the Palatine library.[68]

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[56] Cf. c. 105.
[57] Praef. I 11.
[58] VI 34, 7.
[59] I 61, 1; VII 99, 7; VIII 73, 8; XIV 100, 1; 152, 1.
[60] XII 44, 5.
[61] IV 14, 13; VII 14, 3.
[62] X 103, 5.
[63] I 61, 1.
[64] X 103, 4.
[65] IV 14, 13.
[66] II 71, 3.
[67] VII 99, 7.
[68] V 5, 6.

He hopes finally to be read among the old poets and to rank second to none but Catullus.[69] This admiration rests doubtless in part on Catullus' greatness as a poet and on the fact that they were both engaged in the same poetic field. There is another reason, I think, to which Martial himself gives a clue in the part of Catullus' work which he singles out for special mention. Aside from the Attis (mentioned once[70]) this is the part which deals with the Lesbia episode.[71] On the details of Catullus' love affair Martial dwells with evident gusto and delight. Considering this fact and the part which the erotic element plays in his own work, it is not difficult to see that he was attracted by a certain kind of subject matter. Like Catullus he rejoiced in the pleasures of sense, and this may well have been one of the great bonds that linked him to the earlier poet.[72]

So much intimation has Martial given us of his fondness for subjects of a certain kind. He has also made one reference[73] to an important phase of his methods in dealing with his subject matter in general. I mean the recurrence to the same theme. This reference is apropos of a good natured criticism made by his friend Stella, that he was forever writing about animals, about the gambols of the hares and the play of the lions, and Martial does nothing more than banteringly admit the charge. The repetition in this case comes about in connection with the games in the arena, and is to be expected. What Martial remains silent about and what has indeed been, I think, almost altogether overlooked, is the extensive use he makes of this method in the bulk of his work. To enter into the precise details would require another study, but there is scarcely a theme to which he does not return at least three or four times. In Books I-VIII, inclusive, there are 759 epigrams of which 475 are devoted to about 30 subjects. Some of these, together with the number of times they reappear, may be mentioned: habits and behavior of animals, 19; peculiarities of personal appearance, 27; works of art, 11; the dandy, 5; Domitian, 25; the heavy drinker, 7; the dole, 5; devotion of friends, 11; the fortune hunter, 8; praise of friends, 24; filial and conjugal devotion, 15; festivals,

[69] X 78, 14.

[70] II 86, 4.

[71] I 7, 3; 109, 1; IV 14, 14; VI 34, 8; VII 14, 4; VIII 73, 8; IX 6, 14; XII 44, 5; 59, 3; XIV 77.

[72] For another view of this relation cf. Simcox, History of Latin Literature, p. 116—"More commonly Martial exhibits himself as the rival of a poet with whom he has little in comomn but the metre." See also Teuffel-Schwabe, II 124; "He repeatedly places himself on a level with Domitius Marsus and Catullus. That he could not attain anything higher he attributes with manifest self-deception to his indigent circumstances."

[73] I 44.

8; gifts, 32; the guest, 15; the host, 25; historical characters, 12; views of life, 14; the lover, 5; the lawyer, 8; marriage, 12; ostentation, 12; places and buildings, 20; the parvenue, 10; the pretender, 9; the physician, 4; *παιδικά*, 11; the reciter, 8; the spendthrift, 7; villas, 6; wine, 8, etc.

This method throws into relief the range of Martial's literary interests. These are usually supposed to be of the most extensive and varied character. "His material," remarks a recent historian of Roman literature,[74] "is enormous, representing the whole civilization and social life of his time." In view of the facts, statements of this character are altogether misleading. Martial was interested in certain immediate phases of existence, but these were far indeed from comprehending the social life of his time.

Martial has one reference[75] to the fact that subjects were sometimes suggested to him by others. In this case the result had evidently not been satisfactory. "You ask me," he says, "for lively epigrams, and the subjects you prepare are themselves lifeless." There is nothing to indicate the character of the suggested themes or the extent of the practice. Nor would it seem to be safe to infer that the epigrams were composed for others to be used by them as their own.

In the treatment of his subject matter, whatever it may be, Martial puts down as one of his principles that of directness and simplicity. He sets out intending to call a spade a spade[76] and later[77] we find him also boasting that his work is altogether free from swelling bombast. Another achievement is the clearness of his style. A rival poet who had made the learned but obscure Cinna his model needs not a reader but an Apollo to understand him. As for himself he wishes to satisfy the taste of scholars, but not to require their interpretation.[78] He feels also the need of variety. It is good, for example, to be brief, but brevity itself ceases to be a virtue if it be unrelieved. A book containing nothing but distichs could not be saved from monotony.[79]

One of the most important of Martial's literary principles is the sincerity which consists in coming directly in contact with his subject matter. Thus on his return to Spain, cut off as he was from the life he had known and described, his inspiration lagged. He could not from a distance, in imagination, recreate the theaters, the baths, the libraries, the social gatherings. To write of them he must share in them at first hand,[80] and every book destined to live must reflect a spirit that finds enjoyment in life.[81]

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[74] Aly, Geschichte der Römischen Literatur, p. 287.
[75] XI 42.
[76] Praef. I 14.
[77] IV 49, 7.
[78] X 21.
[79] VIII 29, 2.
[80] Praef. XII 1-15.
[81] VI 60, 10.

In achieving a final literary form for his work Martial was conscious of the requirements of artistic unity and proportion. To a certain Cosconius,[82] also a writer of epigrams, who complained that some of his pieces were too long, he replied that a composition is not too long from which nothing could be taken away. The treatment of a theme should be an artistic whole with a balance of parts like that in a fine statue. Whether it be long or short will depend largely on the nature of the subject to be treated.

Martial was apparently much interested in the reception of his work by the public. In the first place he shows a personal affection for his books, an author's solicitude and tenderness for the creation of his fancy as if it were a favorite slave or even his own child.[83] When it must leave the security of the home for the shops of the Argiletum, he warns it of a possible hostile reception at the hands of the too critical Romans,[84] and yet he seeks to smooth the way by the assurance of the support of some influential friend. One of these is his old and dear friend Julius Martialis to whose house his book, however begrimed with dust, may always go with the certainty of heartfelt embraces.[85] Another is Caesius Sabinus, "the glory of mountainous Umbria," who, though oppressed with manifold cares, has leisure for his friend's book, and through whose favor it will be celebrated in temples, colonnades, shops, and streets.[86] Still another is L. Arruntius Stella.[87] There are also those to whose good offices he appeals when he desires his book to make headway in particular quarters. Such are Rufus (perhaps the Canius Rufus of I 61, 9), Rufus Instantius,[88] Faustinus,[89] and especially Euphemus,[90] Sextus,[91] Parthenius,[92] and Crispinus,[93] the four last mentioned being connected with the household of Domitian. To the Emperor himself in two instances he made direct appeal, asking in the one case[94] merely for the acceptance of his verses, and in the other[95] favor and support for the author. To the emperor Nerva he also presents a selection from books X and XI.[96] Through the mere presentation of his work to persons of influence Martial also seeks to gain something in personal favor and public estimation. There are several epigrams of this kind,[97] the most elaborate (which also brought the author a substantial gift of money[98]) being a presentation to Pliny the younger.[99]

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[82] II 77. Cf. III 69, 7.
[83] Cf. I 52, 4; X 104, 15.
[84] I 3, 3.
[85] III 5, 8.
[86] VII 97.
[87] XII 3, 11.
[88] IV 82; VII 68.
[89] VII 80, 3.
[90] IV 8, 7.
[91] V 5.
[92] V 6, XII 77.
[93] VII 99.
[94] V 1, 9.
[95] VIII 82, 5.
[96] XII 5.
[97] Cf. IV 10, VII 17, VIII 72, X 93; 104.
[98] Plin. Ep. 3, 21.
[99] X 19.

Martial (like Cicero[100]) seems to have understood the psychological value of numbers; at all events he is at great pains to spread the impression that his readers are exceedingly numerous. One of his greatest admirers was Urbicus,[101] the lawyer, who could repeat the poems from memory without losing a single word. If you dropped in at his chambers after the day's work was done, he would invite you to a cozy little dinner for two, and while you sipped the wine, would read his beloved Martial aloud; and even when you grew tired and said, "Isn't that enough for now," his voice would still roll on and on. Even the earliest editions of the poet's work, trifles which he had himself forgotten, were collected and preserved by the bookseller Pollius Valerianus.[102] Coming to more distinguished persons, Macer is so fond of Martial that he neglects the care of the Appian Way.[103] The leading men of the city,[104] like Silius and Regulus and Sura, also lend attentive ears. Even Caesar himself, with the weight of empire resting upon him, finds time to read these sportive verses twice and thrice over[105] and to praise and reward their author. In fact, they are known to everyone who has not the ear of a downright Batavian.[106] To this popular favor as distinguished from that of more cultivated circles Martial refers with obvious pride. "You read and repeat my verses," he says to the reader, "all over Rome,"[107] and again, "In Rome I am in every hand, in every pocket. I am praised, loved, and recited."[108] He is read in Vienna by young and old,[109] in Getic forests and in Britain.[110] Not only so but at the very beginning of his first book Martial announces that he is known all over the world, on account of his witty epigrams.[111] This statement is reiterated; he has a name throughout the cities of the world;[112] he is read everywhere in the world, and when he passes on the street people say, "It is he";[113] his books circulate among all the nations subject to Rome's dominion;[114] he is the famous Martial known by his verses of eleven syllables and by his abundant but not savage wit to all the peoples and the nations;[115] and finally fame can give him nothing more, his book is in every hand.[116] This fame by some good fortune and contrary to the usual practice he has achieved before his death,[117] but it is not a temporary thing; the future is also secure. He shall be known among the Scythians[118] and the Celts and the Iberians,[119] and when the stones of Messala's tomb lie broken and

[100] Ep. ad. Att. I 1, 3.
[101] VII 51.
[102] I 113.
[103] X 17, 5.
[104] VI 64, 10-15.
[105] III 95, 5.
[106] VI 82, 5.
[107] V 16 3.
[108] VI 61. Cf. IX 97, 2.
[109] VII 88, 1-4.
[110] XI 3, 3-5.
[111] II 1-3.
[112] III 95, 7.
[113] V 13, 3.
[114] VIII 61, 3.
[115] X 9.
[116] VIII 3, 3.
[117] I 1, 5. Cf. V 10, 12; VIII 69.
[118] VII 84, 3.
[119] X 78, 9.

the lofty marble of Licinus is dust his words shall still be on men's lips, and his verse shall be carried by many a stranger to his fatherland.[120]

In spite of his great popularity Martial's books were not always received in the way he desired. He was troubled with people who wanted to borrow them,[121] or receive them as a gift,[123] but did not think enough of them to obtain them from the bookseller in a more satisfactory fashion. There was also the discouraging person who, after admiring the separate pieces and being eager for their publication, yawned over the thin volume for three whole days.[124] But all this was not to be compared with the actual attacks of outspoken critics.

We learn from Martial himself what it was the critics found fault with. One thing he had especially to apologize for was the coarseness of a considerable part of his work. In mitigation he appeals, as we have already seen, to the practice of his predecessors.[125] Akin to this is the plea[126] that his verses are not so bad as those heard on the stage. If the chaste matron can listen to the worse naughtiness of the actors, his own lines need not give her pause. As a matter of fact they do not except in the presence of her staid husband; otherwise she reads them with delight.[127] The throwing off of conventional restraint becomes virtually universal at the Saturnalia and the festival of Flora, and Martial makes the excuse that some of the objectionable verses are written for these occasions or in the spirit of those who attend them.[128] On these occasions not even an austere Cato could expect the poet of light verse not to fall in with the general spirit. Moreover, the populace of the city for whom he writes[129] is always loose and frivolous, and he frankly panders to their taste, shaking the castanet like a girl from Cadiz.[130] This after all is the only road to success, for the only kind of jesting verse that finds favor is that dealing with lascivious themes.[131] In spite of this yielding to the demands of the popular taste, Martial assures us in two famous passages[132] that his own life is upright.[133]

The other criticisms which Martial feels called on to notice are not

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[120] VIII 3, 5-8, X 2, 9-12. [121] I, 117. [123] IV 72; V 72.
[124] II 6. Cf. XI 106; 107. [125] For a similar justification Cf. Ter. And. Prol. 18.
[126] III 86. [127] XI 16, 9. [128] Praef. I 15; I 35, 8; XI 15, 11.
[129] XI 16, 2. Urbanae scripsimus ista togae. [130] XI 16, 4. [131] I 35, 10.
[132] I, 4, 8—Lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba; XI 15, 13—Mores non habet hic meos libellus.

[133] Boissier thinks this is a very poor defence. Perhaps Martial means by his *probitas* nothing more than freedom from certain perversions which he mentions to satirize. The ordinary violations of chastity would not in his eyes constitute a defect of character. He may, however, be merely echoing Ovid, Trist. II 354 and Catull. 16, 5.

of great importance. In the eyes of one his work (strange to say) lacks pungency, to whom the author replies that for the kind of pungency he desires[134] he should seek elsewhere. Nor for the sake of vigor will he resort to an archaic harshness of measure; his verses shall run with smooth cadence, and those who find them weak do not know what real strength is.[135] It is true, his work is uneven[136]—some good and some bad —but evenness is only another name for mediocrity.[137] Some of the epigrams, it was also said with considerable frequency, were too long, in which case the critic is invited to read only the short ones,[138] or adjured not to be so unreasonable as to pick only the dainties,[139] or is taunted with being no judge, having himself written nothing.[140] The serious justification of this mechanical objection is of course an appeal to precedent, and to the principle of artistic unity. When the sense is not clear or the construction unidiomatic, the fault lies with the copyist—blunders which the author acknowledges and which the critic might be expected to correct for himself in silence.[141]

Martial also suffered from having his work stolen. The plagiarists had various devices. One was so shameless that he did not even buy the book which he recited as his own;[142] another made the purchase of the volume the basis of his literary ownership;[143] and still another inserted a single page of his own, seeking thus the impression that he was the author of the whole book.[144] But such crude methods were sure of detection. It was not possible to appropriate the work of a well-known author without discovery. "What you really need," says Martial to the plagiarists with fine sarcasm, "if you are to acquire fame from another's compositions, is to buy not only his work, but also his silence. Remember however, that this will not make you a poet; the applause of the world is not to be gained so cheaply."[145] In protecting himself against literary thieves in general Martial calls on his friend Quinctianus for assistance. When the latter sees one of the poet's books in slavery, as it were, he should become its champion and if possible put some shame into the heart of him who had stolen it.[146]

The epigrams on plagiarists in books I and II raise the question as to what previous work of Martial had suffered from their ravages. It seems hardly probable that the plagiarist would busy himself with the Liber Spectaculorum, the Xenia, the Apophoreta, or the effusions of Martial's youth which he had himself forgotten. It is more likely

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[134] X 45, 5. [135] XI 90, 8. [136] I 16, 1.
[137] VII 90, 4. [138] VI 65, 4. [139] X 59, 4.
[140] I 91, 2; 110, 2. [141] II 8. [142] I 29; 62; XII 72, 7.
[143] II 20. Cf. XII 46. [144] I 53. [145] I 66; 72. [146] I 52.

that the reference is to an earlier edition of books I and II, which, as Stobbe has made probable,[147] appeared in a single book. In fact these references to plagiarists are an evidence of this earlier publication.

With the exception of XII 72, Martial makes no references to plagiarism in his later work; he does, however, record two protests against the opposite practice of attributing to him work of which he was not the author. In one case the verses were of an extremely personal and vindictive character such as Archilochus might have written for the destruction of Lycambes, but which Martial repudiates in no uncertain tone. "My jesting," he says, "as you well know, is harmless." He also disowns the verses written in a low and filthy jargon which a certain nameless poet was attempting to pass off as his. "Far from my books," he writes, "be such foul fame."[148]

With this keen sense of ownership in his work, he was also anxious to profit by it in a material way. He takes pains accordingly to point out where his book could be bought. It was for sale in a small parchment edition by Secundus, whose shop was behind the temple of Peace,[149] by Atrectus in the Argiletum, at five denarii a copy,[150] to whom he recommends a would-be-borrower, by Q. Pollius Valerianus, who makes a specialty of the earlier compositions,[151] and by the bookseller Trypho, from whom the Xenia could be obtained for four or even two sesterces.[152] Through these shops and doubtless through many others Martial's books were sold widely, but whatever the conditions of the book-trade may have been, the author in this case seems to have received little or no benefit from the extensive circulation of his works. "My verse," he says in one of the latest books,[153] "is thumbed by the stern centurion amid Getic frosts and is said to be read even in distant Britain. And yet what profit is there for me? My purse knows naught of all this fame." This direct statement, which he makes also with respect to his earlier work,[154] chimes in well with what we know otherwise of Martial's straightened circumstances. As compensations, however, he had the notice of Domitian, from whom he received the *ius natorum trium*[155] and the country place at Nomentum, the acquaintance (and doubtless often more tangible recognition) of the leading men of the state,[156] and a fame which came while he was still living to enjoy it.

This want of money was in part responsible for the want of leisure which Martial deplores as one of the unfavorable conditions of his literary activity. The fact that he writes only one book a year is not due

[147] Philologus, XXVI 62, ff. [148] X 3, 9. [149] I 2, 8.
[150] I 117, 10. [151] I 113. [152] IV 72, 4; XIII 3, 1-4.
[153] XI 3, 1-6. [154] XIII 1, 8. [155] II 92. [156] X 70, 9.

to lack of diligence, he affirms, but to his preoccupation with other affairs that fritter away the day.[157] This want of leisure affects the quality as well as the quantity of his work. When one of his friends reproaches him with writing nothing really great he replies: "Give me leisure such as that which Maecenas gave to Horace and Vergil, and I will essay something which shall live through the ages and snatch my name from the flames of oblivion."[158] To his need of a Maecenas, Martial returns in an epigram addressed to his friend Flaccus. "Give me," he says, "such gifts as he gave to Vergil, and I shall not be a Vergil but a Marsus."[159] Martial also found that his best work required not only leisure but the familiar conditions of the city. He makes this clear in the prose preface to book XII, written in Spain. He misses the libraries, theatres, and clubs, where one studied human nature at first hand but where the labor of observation was lost in the pleasure. In the freedom of the Saturnalia he found himself especially productive. "I can do nothing," he says, "without wine, but when I am drinking, I have the power of a dozen poets, and if to the wine there be added kisses such as Catullus loved, I will write something that shall rank with the latter's Sparrow."[160] Apart from the Saturnalia with its wine and women, Martial looks on love as the greatest inspiration. "If it is your wish," he says to one of his friends,[162] "to give strength and spirit to my muse, and if you desire of me verses which shall live, give me some one to love. It was Cynthia that made the naughty Propertius a poet; the fair Lycoris was the soul of Gallus. The beautiful Nemesis gave fame to the wit of Tibullus; while Lesbia inspired the accomplished Catullus. As for me neither the Pelignians nor the Mantuans will refuse me the name of bard, if only I have some Corinna or some Alexis."

Aside from what relates to his own work Martial has a few observations on the poet's calling in general. It is difficult to achieve success,[163] and when it comes, it brings virtually no return except empty applause;[164] indeed poets worthy (in their own estimation at least) to be spoken of in the same breath with Ovid and Vergil, shiver in threadbare garments.[165] Even fame in the real sense, owing to the prevalent distrust of contemporary authors, is reserved for the ancients. Thus Homer was derided by his own age and rarely was Menander applauded and crowned in the theater; Ennius was read in the life-time of Vergil, and Ovid was known only to his own Corinna.[166] Fame thus usually comes only with death, a price which no one can afford to pay.[167]

[157] X 70; XI 24. [158] I 107. [159] VIII 56, 23.
[160] XI 6, 12-6. [162] VIII 73. [163] I 66, 4.
[164] I 76, 10. [165] III 38, 9. [166] V 10. [167] VIII 69, 4.

OLD FRENCH *NE—SE—NON* IN OTHER ROMANCE LANGUAGES

AURELIO MACEDONIO ESPINOSA

LATIN *nisi* (= only, except, but) was expressed by a great variety of forms and constructions in the early Romance languages. Among these, the most interesting and perhaps the most important one was (*non*)-*si non*, a construction which seems to have survived in all the Romance languages with the exception of Roumanian.

A general but very incomplete treatment of all these forms and constructions in the Romance languages is found in Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.* III, §§ 700-703. The French forms have been carefully studied by Tobler, *Verm. Beiträge* III, 13, and Ebeling *Krit. Jahresb.* V, 212-214, gives additional, interesting and important information on the question of the separation of *si* — *non*.

The present study is intended to be a contribution to the history of the 'Trennung,' and no attempt has been made to study the semasiology of the problem.

Diez (III,[5] 1065) had already called attention to the separation of *se* — *non* in old French and Provençal, but did not know of the existence of the same phenomenon in any other Romance language. Tobler has limited himself to the study of the old French forms, and in his treatment of *se - non* he has shown that the 'Trennung' or separation of *se* and *non* with the object or object phrase between them, is the rule. Meyer-Lübke (*op. cit.*) also calls attention to the existence of this phenomenon in Provençal, but gives only one example. I shall soon show that the 'Trennung' as found in old French is also the regular construction in old Provençal and in old Portuguese.

II

To the numerous instances of the 'Trennung' which is the rule in old French, given by Tobler, I beg to add the following: *Roland* (Stengel) 221, 1522, 3681; *R. de la Rose* (Servois) 539, 1616, 2712, 2866, 3135; *Les Narbonnais* (Suchier) 937, 966, 2858, 3071; *Yvain* (Foerster) 5379, 5823; *Loois* (Langlois) 984; *R. de Troie* (Constans) 128, 754, 1251, 1596, 3072, 3692, 3764, 6254, 8739, 11978, 30242; *Raoul de C.* (Meyer-Longlon 1882) 7335, 8253; *Saxenlied* (Menzel-Stengel) 59, 1856, 2374;

R. de Thèbes (Constans) 576, 6654; *Aliscans* (Hartnacke-Rasch) 352, 7044; *Florence de Rome* (Wallensköld) 1272, 3538; *Eneas* (J. S. de Grave) 4217, 7140, 8096; *Folque de Candie* (Schultz-Gorra) 3040, 7995; *R. d'Escanor* (Michelant) 1603, 11771; *Ille et Gal.* (Foerster) 54, 4158; *L'Escoufle* (Michelant-Meyer) 2527, 8455; *Marie de France Fabeln* (Warnke 1898) 7: 36, 19: 26, 29: 15, 46: 73; Cambrai, *Balaham und Josaphas* (Appel 1907) 924, 1670, 2058, 6974, 7954, 12276.

The undivided *se non,* tho rare, also exists in Old French (see Ebeling, *op. cit.,* p. 212). Among the curious contaminations of *ne—se—non* with other constructions I have found the following:

(1) ne—se—non + ne—fors que:

'Ha! dame, tant belle vous voy
Et tant sent vostre oignement bon
Que je n'ay fors que se bien non,'
[*Miracles* (Paris-Robert) II, 46]

(2) ne—se—non + ne mais (que):

'Dieus,' dist li quens, 'or n'ai mais se bien non!'
[*Le Mon. Guillaume* (Cloetta) 2681]

(3) ne—se—non + ne que:

'Mes ij. frères laissai, par devant Tabarie,
Il ne font que bien non.'—
[*Bauduin de Sebourc* VII, 142-143]

For *ne—fors—non,* see Tobler (*op. cit.*) 89.

The 'Trennung' is found in French as late as the XV century:

'Car je n'y pense se bien non'
[*Chr. de Pisan* (Roy) I, 100]

'Sont maintes fois les dames deceües,
Car simples sont, n'y pensent se bien non.'
[*Ibid.* II, 4]

By the XVI century the 'Trennung' no longer existed:

'Mais ton âme, n'est pas ravie,
Sinon de justice et bonté.'
[*Poet. du XVI^e siècle* (Lemercier) Ronsard 118]

'Aux anciens la Muse a permis de tout dire,
Tellement qu'il ne reste à nous autres derniers,
Sinon le désespoir d'ensuivre les premiers,'—
[*Ibid.* 185]

The last construction still exists in modern French poetry and sometimes in prose.[1]

III.

In old Provençal the 'Trennung' is also the rule. Diez (*op. cit.*) knew of the existence of this phenomenon in Provençal and Meyer-Lübke (*op. cit.*) cites one instance. Ebeling (*op. cit.*) has found a few more instances and also gives examples of the undivided *se non* both for old French and Provençal. To the few cases of the 'Trennung' given by Ebeling I desire to add the following, to show that in old Provençal it was the rule, just as in old French. The Provençal forms are *si—no, se—no, si—non, se—non*:

'e malvaitz hom dinz sa maiso
que no fa ditz si mal no.'
[Appel *Chr.*[3] 43, 80-81]

'Marcabrun ço no m'es pas bon
que d'amor digaz si ben non;'
[*Ibid.* 85, 10-11]

'e no uoillatz autr'om li do
Nuill jorn a maniar si uos no.'
[Monaci *Auzels* (S F R III) 1344-1345]

'Al segle ne cre quel plaça
Que diga re se so'l mal non.'
[*Canz. Prov. Riccardiana* (Bertoni G R L 8) 41, 12-13]

'Don crei morir si no len pren merces,
Que mon cor es mirails de so faiço.
Per qel fugir no mes ren se mal no.'
[*Canz. Prov. C.* (S F R VII) 80, 14-16]

'Qades poing en son pro.
E non fai se mal no.' [*Ibid.* 83, 14-15]

'qem pren qan fuich em met ental preiso.
quissir non puos si mortz o amatz no.'[2]
[*Canz. Prov. A* (S F R III) 341, 22-23]

'—— non agui entensio
cab autra si ab vos no.' [*Ibid.* 452, 55-56]

[1] See Mätzner, *Fränz. Gram.*[3] (Berlin 1885), § 165.

[2] In old French only one of two or more objects intervened as a rule:

'Onques n'i pot antrer vilains
se dames non et chevalier' [*Erec.* 6913-14]

'Onkes n'oi d'els se mal non
et felonie et traïson.' [*Eneas* 6221-22]

'Pieca quil nen ot guerre sa paians non
Tuit sunt conquis par force aquil felon.'
[*Oxford Rossillon* (Boehmer *Stud.* V) 1542-1543]

'Ains seriez a rome dins prat neiron
Que luns ne requert lautre se p mort non.'
[*Ibid.* 2851-2852]

—'E apreu de ma mort mon fil folcon
Qui ne dera consel ia se bon non.'
[*Ibid.* 3008-3009]

'Moinges saz utres noues del rei carlon
Eu non co dist li moinges se males non.'
[*Ibid.* 6774-6775]

'E coilli les Girarz en sa maison
Ainc rendre ne les voult se issi non
[*London Rossillon* (Boehmer *Stud.* V) 2039-2040]

'Qui domna garda tan s'i pert
Si non la met en tal preiso,
Que non la veja s'aquel no
Que la deu gardar et aver;'
[*Flamenca* (P. Meyer) 1152-1155]

'Non s'i bainet si rix hom no.' [*Ibid.* 1493]

'Car non sai coraus n'i veirai
se de cor no;—' [*Ibid.* 2831-2832]

'Amiga, nom fai si mal no,' [*Ibid.* 4192]

'Homz no pot re vezer
Ad huelz, si color no
Sobre calque faisso
Moven o no moven.'
[N'at de Mons (W. Bernhardt, *Altfr. Bib.* 11), I, 195-198]

'Car plazer non a res,
Si de son semblan no.' [*Ibid.* 1040-1041]

'Car sabers ses sen bo
No fa leu si mal no.' [*Ibid.* II, 529-530]

'Que pos elh non an fait envas nos traïcio
No los degratz destruire si per jutjamen no.'
[*Croisade contres les Albig.* (Meyer) 5065-5066]

'E pauso lor amor e las manentias d'aquest segle, et el deleit de la charn don ja nol venra nula re se mala no.'
[Bartsch *Chr.*[4] 28, 2-4]

Just as in old French there is found also in old Provençal the less frequent undivided form:

'aisso tenc eu per gran error,
e per mon grat no seria,
que ges no mou si non de cor caitiu,'
[Appel *Chr.*[3] 32, 37-39]

'que degun non podia annar per la ciutat, si non per la gent morta ayci que era mot fera causa de vezer ho.' [B. *Lesebuch* 177, 4-6][3]

By the XV century, however, the 'Trennung' no longer exists in Provençal:

'Helas! helas! la ciutat de Tholosa
Voldria veser! Mas guardar no la gauza,
Si no qu' un pauc.'—
[*Gay Saber* (Gatieu-Arnoult) III, 125]

'D'autre gazanh no vos qualha,
Sino del celestial.' [*Ibid.* 263]

'Sola, san par, gentil, flor agradiva,
Vostre nau pretz tot mon sentimen priva
D'autra servir, sino vos, bel' e bona;' [*Ibid.* 252]

IV

No one has ever called attention to the fact that the 'Trennung' as found in old French and old Provençal is also the rule in the old Portuguese.[4] This is actually the case to the end of the XIV century. The regular old Portuguese form is *se—non*:

'Ca non e outre se en non,
que mi-o tive dê-la sazon.'
[*Canc. da Ajuda* (Carolina Michaëlis) I, 11]

'E pesa vus porque non ei
eu poder no meu coraçon
d'amar, mia senhor, se vos non.' [*Ibid.* 28]

'Mais pos i foren dormiran,
ca non desejan al, nen an
outra coita se esta non.' [*Ibid.* 72]

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[3] For more cases see Ebeling (*op. cit.*, p. 212).

[4] Ebeling, however, cites one case (*op. cit.*, p. 214).

'— — — por niun ben
desejar eu de nulha ren
eno mundo, se de vos non.' [*Ibid.* 117]

'Ca tal dona! si Deus a mi perdon!
non á no mundo, se mia senhor non.' [*Ibid.* 109]

'E se m'esto contra vos non valer,
non me valrá logu' i se morte non.' [*Ibid.* 178]

'Non me fez Deus tal dona ben querer,
nen mi-a mostrou, se por aquesto non.' [*Ibid.* 181]

'pois Deus non quer que aja se mal non.' [*Ibid.* 257]

'Nunca lhes por én façan se mal non.' [*Ibid.* 268]

'E amigos, non me soub' én guardar
per outra ren se per aquesta non:' [*Ibid.* 294]

'Mia senhor, nunca despois vi,
per bõa fé, se mui gran pesar non;' [*Ibid.* 343]

'Non jaz i al se morte non,' [*Ibid.* 571]

'nen mi-o sab' outren, se Deus non!' [*Ibid.* 682]

'Ca nunca de vos ei d' aver
¡Mal pecado ! se coita non.' [*Ibid.* 713]

'Non tenh' eu se morte non.' [*Ibid.* 713]

'que nunca devedes fazer
en nulha cousa se ben non!' [*Ibid.* 719]

'non mi valrra se Deus non!' [*Ibid.* 904]

Just as in Provençal there are also found in old Portuguese rare examples of the undivided *se non*:

'nunca me pose tolher al
mal nen gran coita, se non mal.'
[*Canc. da Ajuda* I, 216]

By the XV century the regular undivided form had become the rule:

'— ca elle nom ffezeera aquelo, senom pelo
toruar de se non ir lancar sobre elle.'
[Vasconcellos *Text. Arch.* 65, 23-24]

'— que os libros nunca forom feitos senom
pera aquelles que non sabem e querem aprender.'
[*Ibid.* 55, 12-13]

From the XVI century the usual form has been senão:[5]

'Não tens aqui senão apparelhado
O hospicio que o cru Doimedes dava.'—
[Camõens *Lusiádas* II, 62]

'Em nenhuma outra cousa confiado,
Senão no summo Deos que o céo regia,'
[*Ibid.* III, 43]

'Agora conheço com certeza que não ha outro
Deos em toda terra, senão o Deos de Israel.'
[Roquete *Hist. Sagr.* II, 45]

V

A regular use of the 'Trennung,' as found in old French, old Provençal and old Portuguese, does not seem to exist in Italian and Spanish.[6]

A. In Italian the usual forms are *se non, se no, senon*:

'La sete natural che mai non sazia
Se non con l'acqua onde la femminetta
Samaritana dimando la grazia'
[Dante, *Purg.* XXI, 1-3]

Other cases are: *Inferno* X, 21, XVII, 117, XIX, 114, XXV, 37; *Purgatorio* XII, 129, XIII, 6; *Paradiso* I, 137, X, 90, 148, XVII, 41, XXII, 54.

'Omai, care compagne, niuna cosa resta piú a fare al mio reggimento per la presente giornata se non darvi reina nuova,'
[Bocc. *Decam.* I, 10]

'— m'ha trovato in prigione, della quale mai se non morto uscire non spero!'
[*Ibid.* II, 6]

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[5] In Camõens, *mas* (cf. Spanish *mas*) is usually equivalent to *senão*, even after a negation, and by far more frequent. In the Spanish of the XVI-XVII centuries the line between *mas, sino, pero,* was not clearly drawn, and *salvo, excepto, más que* added to this confusion. See also Bello-Cuervo, *Gram,*[10] §§ 1275-1278. For the curious forms *nego, nega* = *senão* found in Gil Vicente, see Cornu in *Rom.* XI, 89. In Sâ de Miranda and other Portuguese poets *sinon* > *son,* and in the Alexandre *sino* > *sin,* see Carolina Michaëlis, ZRPh. IV, 603.

[6] In Spanish, however, a few isolated and curious cases are found, see C. For Italian, I know only the case cited by Raynouard, *Lexique Roman* IV (1842) 325:

'A niun altro s'ha da attribuire la causa se alle donne no.'
[Castiglione, *Corteg. lib.* III]

'Digli: un che non ti vide da ancor presso,
Se non come per fama uom s'innamora;'
[Petrarca *Rime* I *Canz* VI]

'Vera Donna, ed a cui di nulla cala,
Se non d'onor, che sovr' ogni altra mieti;'
[*Ibid. Son.* CCXXV]

'Non sa che far la timida donzella,
Se non tenersi ferma in su la sella.'
[Ariosto *Orl. Fur.* VIII, 25]

'Questo cuore che amor mai non richiesse
Se non forse a le idee
E che ferito tra le sue contese
Ora morir si dee.'
[Carducci, *Intermezzo* IX, 9][7]

B. (1) In old Spanish the usual forms are *si non, sy non, sinon, sino, si no*:

'Que non yfincas ninguno, mugier nin varon,
Si non amas sus mugieres doña Eluira e doña Sol:'
[*Cid* 2709-2710]

'non lo sabrian dezir los que leen sermones,
sy non los que suffrieron tales tribulaçiones.'
[*St. Do. de Silos,* 74 bc]

'Plus pavoroso dia nunqua amaneçió,
Sinon el viernes sancto quando Christo murió.'
[*San Millán* 379 cd]

'Asmo que lo non podrie en otra guisa matar
sy non por aventura por aquel lugar.'
[*Alexandre* (Morel Fatio) 708 ab]

'Non puede a nuyll omne la cosa mas durar.
Si non quanto el fado le quiso otorgar;'
[*Appollonio* 341 ab]

'e Julio Cesar en estos V annos non pudo ganar sino fasta Lerida.'
[*Pr. Crónica Gen.* (Pidal) 9a, 4-5]

'Non queria cassar con una sola mente,
Sy non con tres mugeres, tal era su talente.'
[J. Ruiz 189 bc]

'Ca non ha pobre honbre
Sy non el cobdiçioso;'
[Sem. Tob. *Prov.* 214 ab]

[7] For more cases see Tommaseo-Bellini, *Dizionario* IV, 795-796. In Italian there is also used *se non se* = *se no* (T-B).

'Et el dean le prometio et le aseguro que de qualquier bien que el oviese, que nunca faria sinon lo que el mandase.
[Juan Manuel *Lucanor*, 47, 45]

Other old Spanish instances of this regular use of *si non, sino,* are the following:

Pr. Crónica Gen. 14a19, 21b2, 41a45, 57b30, 76b31, 94a18, 103b41, 111b10, 119a42, 122b11; *San Millán* 42d, 211d, 379d; *Sacrifiçio* 9d, 16c, 202b; *Milagros* 40d, 41d, 761c; *Alixandre* (M. Fatio) 7d, 196d, 1609d; *Fernán Gonz.* (Marden) 53d, 119d, 230d, 348c; *Cavallero Cifar* (Michelant 1872) 19:23, 25:6, 51:18, 65:6, 77:6; *Lucanor* 6:11, 54:24, 56:3, 58:17, 64:22, 75:6, 80:3, 92:15, 110:17, 121:12; *Juan Ruiz* 602d, 703c, 860d, 1423d.

(2) Since the Classic period the regular form is *sino*:

'Mire vuestra merced, respondió Sancho, que aquellos que allí se parecen no son gigantes, sino molinos de viento,—[*Don Quixote* VII]

'Tú nuestro principe eres;
Ni admitimos ni queremos
Sino al señor natural
y no á príncipe extranjero.'
[Calderon, *La Vida es Sueño* III, 2]

'Ni en su vida conoció otro mal, sino una especie de alferecía que le amagaba de cuando en cuando.'
[Moratín, *El Sí de las niñas* I, 4]

C. The 'Trennung' in Spanish.

Hanssen (*Spanische Gram.* § 66) says: 'Im Altspanischen können si und non getrennt werden,' giving as an example the well known case from the *Egipciaqua.* Ebeling (*op. cit.*) has already called attention to the fact that this may be a French construction. It should be added that in the *Egipciaqua, sino* is regularly used, and the 'Trennung' occurs only in the first case, evidently a French construction. To see how closely the Spanish poem follows the probable French original, it is sufficient to compare the two in the opening lines as given by Mussafia (*Sitzungsberichte der Phil.-Hist. Kl. der Kais. Acad. der Wissenschaften,* Wien, V, XLIII, 157). With the exception of this very doubtful case, there does not exist, to my knowledge, a single case of the 'Trennung' for the

old Spanish period. *Hanssen's* statement, therefore, if based only on the example given, is a very bold one.

Neither Hanssen nor Ebeling seem to know, however, that a few isolated cases of the 'Trennung' are found in the Spanish of the XV and XVI centuries. The total number of cases known to me is the following:

(a) The two examples from the *Amadís,* given by Bello (Bello-Cuervo, *Gram.*[10] § 1282 note).

(b) The proverb used by Cervantes, 'en ayunas si de pecar no.' (Bello-Cuervo, *Ibid.*).

(c) '¿Á quién contaré mis quexas si á tí no?'

(El Marqués d'Astorga, Cançionero, cf. Raynouard, *op. cit.*)

(d) The cases found in the verses (some Spanish, some Portuguese) addressed to D. João III by Gil Vicente (Obras, Lisboa 1852, Vol. III):

'¿Á quién contaré mis quejas,
Si a vos no?'
3-4, 11-12, 27-28

'Que no contaré mis quejas
Si á vos no.' 19-20

'Porque no cuento mis quejas
Si á vos no.' 35-36

The cases from the *Amadís* are very interesting and curious, in view of the fact that the regular undivided *sino* is the rule and it is very frequent. Examples: 'porque el rey su marido nunca la consintió cubrir sus hermosos cabellos sino de una muy rica guirlanda,' la 9; 'Si me vos prometéis, dijo el Rey, como leal doncella, de lo no descubrir sino allí donde es razón, yo os lo diré,' 2b 31, etc., 11b36, 16b54, 22a40, 24b29, 26b39, 28b2, 35a7, 37b13, 42b, 34, 50a28, etc., etc.

The cases from Astorga and Gil Vicente seem to be fixed formulas but I have not found any other cases. Gil Vicente uses the regular *sino* in all other places, and in his Portuguese writings he uses *senão,* just as Camõens, and not the old Portuguese *se—non*:

'Eu não quero de ti nada
Senão abraçar como amiga.'
[*Obras, op. cit.* I, 131]

'Eu não vejo aqui maneira,
Senão emfim concrudir.' [*Ibid.* 229]

D. It is probable that in Catalan (XIII-XIV centuries) the

'Trennung' may occur as in Provençal. I have had at my disposal only XV century texts, and there it is not found, *e. g.*:

'—— corrents atzebres,
ludries, vebres,
hon bo ni bell
sino la pell
als no si troba:'
[Jacme Roig (Chabás, 1905) 130a 75-76]

VI

No se—non; no, sino; si non; se non, are often strengthened by the additional use of such adverbs as *solement, sólo* or similar adjectives placed before or after *non, sino*:

(a) Old French:

'Car il ne mena home o sei,
Ne escuier ne compagnon,
Se solement son cheval non.'
[*Thèbes* 574-576]

'Donc amez vos je le vos prius,
Car doucor an nul mal ne truis
S' an amor non tan solemant.'
[*Cliges* 3115-3117]

'Ne nus ne puet aparcevoir
Qu'il i aut por nul acheison,
Se por l'astor solemant non.'
[*Ibid.* 6324-26][8]

(b) Old Spanish:

'Todos yscamos fuera, que nadi non raste,
Si non dos peones solos por la puerta guardar.'
[*Cid.* 686-687]

'—porque la onra de Roma ficasse por todauia e la de Carthago fuesse destroyda por siempre, que non fincasse si no el nombre solo;'
[*Pr. Crónica Gen.* 51a 34-37]

[8] For old Provençal cases, see Ebeling, *op. cit,* 213.

'—et de guisa los sopo traer et reboluer en sus torneos que todos los mato, sinon uno solo que finco y canssado, et a aquel non le quiso ya matar Roy Diaz mio Cid.'
[*Ibid.* 503a 18-22]

'—pero al cabo non le quiso ninguno tomar la yura, maguer que la el rey quisiese dar, sinon Roy Diaz el Cid solo.'
[*Ibid.* 519a 6-8]

'—porque el rey don Alffonsso non dexara heredero fijo nin fija sinon a la reyna donna Vrraca sola.'
[*Ibid.* 645b 41-43]

'esto non lo penssedes njn coydedes njn creades
que sinon la muerte sola non parte las voluntades.'
[Juan Ruiz 860 cd.]

I have found in old Spanish one case of *sinon—solo—solamientre*:

'—ca de quantos alli son llegados non pudo ninguno
ferir en somo del tablado sinon el solo tan solamientre;'
[*Pr. Crónica Gen.* 432a 1-3]

(c) Middle Spanish:

'—por aquella que en su tiempo par de sabiduria no tuvo en todas artes, sino solamente en la del engañoso amor de aquel que más que á sí mesma amaba.' [*Amadís* 400 a-14-16]

'¿ Qué más mala ventura quiere vuesa merced, que de once pollos que me sacó la gallina, no me han quedado sino solos cinco?'
[Lope de Rueda (Acad.) II, 29]

'—Yo no vivo
Sino sólo de mi hacienda,
Ni paje en mi vida fuí.'
[Tellez *Don Gil* I, 2, 245]

'Nunca, dixo á este punto Sancho Panza, he oido llamar con don á mi señora Dulcinea, sino solamente la señora Dulcinea del Toboso,'—
[*Don Quixote* II, 3]

'Y aunque nunca ví ni hablé
Sino á un hombre solamente,
Que aquí mis desdichas siente,—'
[Calderón *La Vida es sueño* I, 204]

(d) Italian:

'Noli calea niuna cosa
Se non de morte solamente,
Quando uedea suo fillio gente.'
[*Poesie Relig.* 54, 11][9]

(e) Catalan (XV century):

'No vull del mon
sino sols vos,
puys som abdos,
hajam plaer
ab bon voler
e fin amor.'
[Jacme Roig 98, 59-63]

VII

When a new verb is introduced, *sino que, se no che, sinó che, senão que* are used in Spanish,[10] Italian, Catalan and Portuguese:

(a) Spanish:

'ca numqua fiz otro yerro contra ti sino que te quiero bien—'
[*Pr. Crónica Gen.* 43a 29-30]

'ca si el consejo que da recude a bien, non ha otras gracias sinon que dizen que fizo su debdo en dar buen consejo, '
[*Lucanor* 52, 20-23]

'y no parecia sino que el diablo le traía á la memoria los cuentos acomodados á sus sucesos,'—
[*Don Quixote* I, 5]

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[9] For more cases see Tommaseo-Bellini, *op. cit.*, 796a.

[10] In old Spanish *sino tanto que* was also used:

'—no fallamos escriptas ningunas cosas que de contar sean, si no tanto que en el dozeno anno murio Cleto el papa,'—
[*Pr. Crónica Gen.* 140a 28-30]

'—no fallamos escripta ninguna cosa que de contar sea, si no tanto que en el dezeno, segund cuentan las estorias, quexo el senado de Roma mucho a Traiano ell emperador—' [*Ibid.*, 144b 13-16]

Cf. also 152a, 155a, 161b, 168b, 176b, 177b, 183b, etc., etc. An emphatic *tant* is also used in the old French construction, *fors tant que*, [Tobler, 89.]

(b) Italian:

'E non so qui trovare altro compenso
Se non che 'l tempo è breve, e i dì son ratti;'
[Petrarca *Rime* II, 441]

'ma io non so chi egli si fu, se non che uno, avendomi recati danari che egli mi dovea dare di panno, etc.'
[Boccaccio *Dec.* I, 1]

'O tranne tutti gli altri, e più non chero,
Se non che tu mi lasci il mio Ruggiero.'
[Ariosto *Orl. Fur.* IV, 33]

'Egli non fece al suo disio più schermi,
Se non che cercó via di seco avermi.'
[*Ibid.* XIII, 9]

(c) Catalan:

'En bona fe, pare, dix micer Sipelleto, tal cosa jo no sé que may fes, sinó, que es ver que una vegada un home me havia comprats draps—'
[Boccaccio *Dec.* I, 1, *Trad. Cat.* ed. Torrents]

(d) Portuguese:

'E ainda, Nymphas minhas, não bastava
Que tamanhas miserias me cercassem;
Senão que aquelles que eu cantando andava,
Tal premio de meus versos me tornassem:'
[*Os Lusiadas* VII, 81]

'e nao só se farão senhores dos mesmos thesouros,
sem d'elles deixar cousa alguma, senão, que até
a vossos proprios filhos captivarão,—'
[Roquete *Hist. Sagr.* II, 94]

VIII

The use of *se—non, senon* in positive questions without the preceding negation, but apparently, also with the negative idea, as found in old French:

'Sire, pour coi plorés? avés vos se bien non?' Ch. lyon 4605 (Tobler, *op. cit.*, p. 70) and which is also frequent later,

'Qu' ai-je depuis mon enfance,
Sinon tout injuste offense
Senti de mes plus prochains—?'
[*Poet. du XVIe siècle* du Bellay p. 234]

'Pourquoi leur faisons—nous du genou tant d'honneurs,
Sinon pour leur richesse?—'
[*Ibid.* Ronsard 181]

is also a regular construction in old and modern Spanish:

'Cosa tan con recabdo qui la ordenaria,
Si non tu fijo, madre, por qui todo venia?'
[Berceo *Loores* 153cd]

'Quando daqui saldremos ¿ qué vestido leuaremos
Si non el conuiuio de Dios de aquell en que creyemos?'
[*Appollonio* 655 cd]

'Sus infinitos tesoros,
Sus villas y sus lugares,
Su mandar,
¿ Qué le fueron sino lloros?
¿ Que fueron sino pesares
Al dexar?'
[*Ant. poet. liric. cast.* Manrique III, 108]

'¿ A Quién debo yo llamar
Vida mia,
Sino a ti, Virgen María?'
[*Ibid.*, Juan del Encina IV, 192][11]

The above construction is also found in Portuguese:

'Com quem foram contino sopeados
Estes, de quem o estais agora vós,
Por Diniz, e su filho, sublimados,
Senão co'os vossos fortes pais, e avós?'
[Camõens *Lusiádas* IV, 17]

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[11] When a new verb is introduced *sino que* is used (cf. VII):

'¿ Que quiso significar- Esto, sino que Castilla
Devia' con gran mancilla- La tal pérdida llorar?'
[*Ant. Poet. Lir.* Guzmán, I, 240]

'¿ Qué me ha de parecer, sino que almorcemos?' [*Thebayda* 158]

'Com que melhor podemos, hum dizia,
Este tempo passar, que he tão pesado,
Senão com algum conto de alegria,
Com que nos deixe o somno carregado?'
[*Ibid.* VI, 40]

in Italian:

'Che poss' io far, temendo il mio signore,[12]
Se non star seco infin' all' ora estrema?'
[Petrarca *Rime* I *Son.* CIX]

and in Catalan:

'¿ que als divisa
sino gran fum?'
[Jacme Roig 45a 4-5]

IX

The independent use of *se non, sino,* etc. (= except, only) without the preceding negation, as found in old French:

'Seur mer uint il en un sablon,
Mes par tens li fera si mau non
Vn gran serpens qui descendi.'
[*Octavian* (Vollmöller 1883) 585-587]

'Et courtois, ou vosist ou non,
Car amours a si courtois non.'
[*Antecrist* (Wimmer) 70]

(see also Tobler (*op. cit.* 70), has a much wider extension of use and meaning in Spanish, and is found also in other Romance languages. In Spanish and Italian *sino que, se non che* are used in the same manner when a new verb is introduced (see VII).

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[12] *Se non che* is used when a new verb is introduced (VII):
'E che altro è da voi all' idolatre,
Se non ch' egli uno, e voi n'orate cento?'
[Dante *Inf.* XIX, 113-114]

(a) Spanish:

'Si yo yogues con ellos auria gran placimientó,
Sino quando viene el dia del pasamiento.'
[*Appollonio* 131 cd]

'Los ssantos monges ya sse partien
Ssino los que romaneçien.'
[*Egip.* (1907) 846-847]

'tremio la tierra en Antiochia tan fuerte, que se destruyo toda la cibdat, sino fue muy poca cosa.'
[*Pr. Crónica Gen.* 144b 33]

'— e orauan me todos todo bien et toda salud, si non uno solo[13] que estaua y, que nin se alegraua comigo nin riye como los otros.'
[*Ibid.* 271a 32]

'Et el infante dixole que bien le parescia, sinon quel' fazian muy grand rroydo aquellos estrumentos.'
[*Lucanor* 97]

'mas ruégovos por Dios que vos membréis del doncel que es desamparado de todos sino de mi.'
[*Amadís* 7, b34]

'mas creo que lo faceis por no haber razón de os combatir, que a esta hora fallaréis sino los diablos.'
[*Ibid,* 31a 23]

' Dorotea (que era discreta y de gran donayre) como quien ya sabia el menguado humor de don Quixote, y que todos hazian burla del, sino Sancho Pança, no quiso ser para menos,'—
[*Don Quixote* I, XXX]

(b) Italian:

'Che piangon dentro, ov' ogni orecchia e sorda,
Se non la mia;'
[Petrarca *Rime* II Son. XXVI]

'Che 'n tutto quel mio passo er' io più lieta
Che qual d'esilio al dolce albergo riede;
Se non che mi stringea sol di te piéta.'
[*Ibid.* II *Tr. de Morte* 2]

[13] See VI b.

'Ivi cosi una cornice lega
Dintorno il poggio, come la primaia,
Se non che l'arco suo più tosto piega.'
[Dante *Purg.* XIII, 4-6]

(c) Catalan:

'— totes vixqueren,
sino 1 damnat
Judes penjat;'
[Jacme Roig 209b 2-4]

BENEDICITEE

EWALD FLÜGEL

BENEDICITEE, interj.[1] Latin phrase taken from the song of praise of the three children protected in the fiery oven (Dan. 3, 57: Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino laudate et superexaltate eum in saecula, cf. Ps. 102, 22 Benedicite Domino omnia opera eius;[2] occurring also at the end of the Mass,[3] cf. Missale Romanum Gratiarum actio post missam; sung also on the Dom. ad Laudes, cf. Brev. Rom. Horae Diurnae 3), used from early times.—*I. as interjection:* (*1*) as a blessing, especially in greeting and at meals; (*2*) at the beginning of the confession; (*3*) superstitiously, and accompanied by the sign of the cross, as a formula of imprecation, to protect against evil influences,[4] evil spirits, ghosts, the Devil.[5]

In this latter use it is possibly connected less with Dan. 3, 57 than with Dan. 3, 86: Benedicite spiritus et animae iustorum Domino, laudate etc.,[6] Ps. 133, 2 Benedicite Dominum omnes servi Domini etc., although Wycliffe[7] says expressly in his interpretation of Dan. 3, 57: þus alle þingis blessen god but oonli yuele men and feendis. In English literature the phrase is first found bef. 1060 Cott. MS Cal. A. VII in the Charm against bewitched land:[8] Wende þe þonne iii sunganges, astrece þe þonne on andlang and arim þær let aias and cweð þonne: Sanctus sanctus sanctus oþ ende. Sing þonne *Benedicite* aþenedon earmon and

[1] From the Chaucer Dictionary. For an explanation of the abbreviations see *Anglia* XXXIV, 1911: "Prolegomena and Side-Notes to the Chaucer Dictionary."

[2] Myrroure of oure Layde 124: god of hys specyall mercy . . . shall kepe hys chosen in that fyre of trybulacyon vnhurte . . . And in token thereof ys thys fyfte psalme Benedicite songe at laudes.

[3] G. Durandus Rationale Divin. Off. 4, 59 De benedictione novissima, ed. Koberger 1481 fol. 83.

[4] The fear of evil influences is behind the words in Li Romans de Carite 1, 75, quoted by Godefroy s. v. and explained as 'prière en général': Bons cloistriers sans grande griete / Onkes silenche ne navra: Ne doit nis en necessité / Parler sans 'Benedicite'; for the sense of 'exclamation comme: Grand Dieu' Godefroy has only one qu. from G. Chastellain + 1474.

[5] A formula necessary in the times of Antichrist, see Myrrour of oure Ladye 124.

[6] Cf. the German phrase: alle guten geister loben gott den herrn.

[7] Works ed. Arnold 3, 62.

[8] Grein-Wülker Bibl. 1, 314.

Magnificat and *Paternoster* iii and bebeod hit Criste = used as a blessing to the field, as prayer and imprecation against evil influences; later quotations: *c 1205 Layamon A 2, 123* Heo (*viz. the Monks*) comen to heore abbede? & hine gretten þurh gode. Lauerd benedicite? we beoð icumen biuoren þe = used as a greeting addressed by an inferior to a superior;[9] *c 1225 Ancren Riwle 64* hwon ȝe schulen to owre parlures þurle . . . goð forð mid godes drede [:] to preoste on erest siggeð *confiteor* ? & þerefter benedicite þæt he ouh to siggen? herkneð his wordes = as a greeting (possibly connected with the confession); ib. 44 bitweone mete hwo se drinken wule sigge *benedicite potum nostrum filius Dei benedicat* = as a grace at table;[10] *c 1300 Interludium de Clerico et Puella 63* (ed. Heuser, Anglia 30, 308) Mome Ellwis: A son vat saystu? benedicite! Lift hup yi hand and blis ye! = as a strong remonstrance against the wishes of the *Clericus*, with the additional thought that the word might avert evil influences; *c 1300 Dame Siriz 193* (Maetzn. Spr. Pr. 1, 446 with excellent note) Benedicite! be herinne! = exclamation of remonstrance;[11] *1377 Piers Plowman B* 5. 397 (Accidia confessing) He bygan benedicite with a bolke and his brest knocked / And roxed and rored and rutte atte laste = at the beginning of the confession, used by the penitent; *1390 Gower C. A. 1, 48* The selue prest . . . Was redy there . . . To hiere my confessioun. This worthi Prest . . . To me spekende thus began / And seide Benedicite / My sone . . . Thou schalt thee schrive = the confessor's blessing; *c 1400 Tale of Beryn 40* Benedicite quod the Pardonere = exclamation of horror at the behavior of the woman; *ib. 314* = excl. of the girl frightened in her sleep; *ib. 1271* = imprecation against evil words; *ib. 1718* = excl. of surprize; *ib. 3225* = excl. of disgust and surprize; *? 1403 Lydgate Ass. Gods* 1594 A benedycyte nooñ ere cowde I aduert / To thynke on Andrew the Apostyll = excl. of astonishment on becoming aware of his omission; *c 1430 York Plays 449, 33* (Petrus): On goddis name benedicite! What may þis mene? (Jacobus): Itt is a sperite . . . that dose vse tene = excl. of fear at the apparition of Jesus; *c 1450 Town. Plays 24* (Processus Noe) A benedicite what art thou that thus / Tellys afore that shalle be? Thou art fulle marvellus = excl. of fear addressed by the frightened Noe to the

[9] It must have been the request of the inferior to the superior to pronounce the blessing: 'quia minor maiore praesente benedicere non debet . . . regulariter autem maior minori benedicat,' G. Durand, l. c. fol. 83*b*.

[10] Cf. Furnivall E. E. Meals 366 ff.

[11] Maetzner takes it as "halb substantiviert"; I take it as interj. and 'be herinne' as an exclamation (cf. also the Town. Pl. 85), a phrase lacking the subject, which is 'God,' cf. German 'Gott sei bei uns! Gott steh uns bei! viz., against the Evil one, who, later, receives the name of the exclamation euphemistically.

voice of God; *ib. 85* Benste! Benste! be us among / And save alle that I se here in this thrang = excl. of horror; *ib. 99* Benste and Dominus![12] What may this bemeyne? = excl. of fear; *ib. 107* Benste! be here in! So my hart qwakys! = excl. of the shepherd who awakes from a bad dream; *15th c. Edinb. MS Trent. Greg. 81* (Anglia 13, 305) þe goste com þe þyrde nyght . . . þe pope . . . hade negh lost hys wytt / Bot at þe laste vp he breyde / And rufully þis wordis he sayde / Bene dicite in God*is* name / Wo is þer? = excl. of horror at the apparition of the ghost, as in 15th c. Childe of Bristowe 239 qu. by Kaufmann Trentalle 55.[13]

NB as a formula of mere greeting, "vox salutationis apud monachos praesertim qua inferior superiorem salutat et adit" (Du Cange s. v.), the word is not quoted between Layamon, the Ancren Riwle and Shakespeare Meas. 2, 3, 39 where the Duke (disguised as a friar) blesses Juliet with the words 'Grace be with you! Benedicite!' (Exit); in Romeo 2, 3, 31 the word has been explained as a formula of greeting (see Alex. Schmidt), but it is rather an exclamation of surprize, and, originally, of fear at being called upon so early in the dawn of the day.[14]

II. Used like a substantive: (1) *c 1325 Auchinl. MS Guy 5744* (Murray) Gij . . . ȝaf him swiche b*e*n*e*dicite / þat he brak his nek ato = such a blessing on his back; (2) in Elizabethan writers transf. = confession; cf. Tho Nashe Have with you &c (Works ed. McKerrow 3, 74) vnder benedicite here in private be it spoken = in absolute secrecy, as at confession; Kemp Nine Daies Wonder 17 (qu. ib.) such Waytes (under Benedicite be it spoken) fewe Citties . . . have the like, none better = as at a confession of the absolute truth.

Prosody. In ME the word is generally used trisyllabic with two accents, riming with words in . . . ee: ben′ distee′; occ. quadrisyllabic: Ben′edis′te (D Siriz?); also dissyllabic, as the spelling 'Benste' shows (Town. Pl.) or the metre (Freir. Berw.); rarely quinquesyllabic with three accents, as in the Childe of Bristowe ("The child seid bénedícité"; or is it here, too, rather trisyllabic: The childĕ seidĕ ben′disteé?). In Chaucer the spelling of MSS. II, III, IV, V 3 proves that the word in its

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[12] This 'dominus' was originally the necessary answer to the 'benedicite,' cf. Caesarius v. Heisterbach qu. by Kaufmann Trentalle 55; see also Durand. l. c. maior incipiens dicat *Benedicite* et ceteri respondent *Dominus*.

[13] Cf. also Cal. & Melib. 33 (Dodsley Coll. O. Pl. 1, 54) What amiss woman, Christ benedicite! and c 1540 Freir. Berw, (Schipper's Dunbar 421) Ha benedicitée! Quat may this mene? (Bannat. MS; 'Haly benedicite' in Maitl. MS) = exclamation of horror.

[14] *Romeo to Friar*: Good morrow, father! *Friar to Romeo*: Benedicite! What early tongue so sweet saluteth me?

fuller form had two accents and was pronounced Ben'disteé; a form which was still further contracted to * Bendstee Benste; the contraction * Bendcite * Bencite suggested by Ten Brink 263 was first given by Child Observations 1862, p. 492, § 96, and accepted also by Skeat 5, 166 ('we must say ben'cite'),— does not rest on any MS proof; cf. also Kittredge Obs. 381.

Prosody of the word in Chaucer. (1) Trisyllabic with two accents: Ben'disteé Tr 3x CT 11x; (2) quadrisyllabic with two accents: benedic'iteé CT B 1974 (? D 1584); (3) dissyllabic: ben'ste CT D 1456, benstee' D 2170; (4) quinquesyllabic, with three accents: CT A 1785.

Rimes. (Tr): he pron. : be inf. (CT) : dignete s. : meynee s. : tree s. : see pres. subj. 3 sg. : flee inf. : be inf. : see inf. : me pron. 2x : thee pron. : he pron. : ye pron. —

Spelling. benedicitee 1 8x 2 5x 11; b*e*nedicitee 2; benedicite 6 13x 7 8x 11 8x 5 7x 2 6x 4 6x 1 5x I 3x VI 3x 3 3x II 2x V 2x 8 9 10 14 16 17 19 27; b*e*nedicite 4 8x 5 6x 3 5x 7 4x III 2x VIII 2x 1 6 11; b*e*nedicyte 3; b*e*nedicice 3 (?); bendicite 7; bendiste IV 3x V; bendistee II; benediste III; benedyste 3; b*e*nediste 3.

Bless you! Bless me! Bless us!

(1) exclamation of astonishment, surprize mixed with fear at suddenly seeing someone (originally used as an imprecation against evil spirits):

> His nece a-wook and asked who goth þere . . .
> My dere Nece quod he it am I . . .
> What which weye be ye comen *benedicite*
> Quod she and how [þus]vnwyst of vs alle
> Here at þis secre trappe dore quod he
> [bendiste IV]
>
> Tr 3, 757

> I am a feend / my dwellyng*e* is in helle . . .
> A quod this Somonou*r* / *benedicite* what sey ye?
> I wende / ye were a yeman trewely
> Ye han a mannes shap*e* / as wel as I
> [b*e*nediste 3]
>
> Frere 192 D 1456

> This Somonou*r* / clappeth at the wydwes gate . . .
> Who clappeth seyde this wyf*e* *benedicitee*
> God saue you sire / what is youre sweete wille
>
> Frere 286 D 1584

This frere cam / as he were in a rage
Where as this lord / sat etynge at his borde
Vnnethes / myghte the frere / speke a worde
Til atte laste / he seyde / god yow see
This lord bigan to looke / and seide *benedicitee*
What frere Johñ . . . Ye looken / as the wode / were
ful of theuys

Som 506 D 2170

(2) exclamation like modern 'Bless you!' used as a formula in which the superstitious desire to ward off some unknown evil, some danger, is uppermost:

Quod Pandarus allas what may þis be
That þow desespered art þus causeles
What lyueth not þi lady *benedicite*
[bendistee II benediste III bendiste IV, V]

Tr 1, 780

whan a chaumber a-fyr is or an halle
More nede is it sodeynly to rescowe
Than to dispute and axe . . .
A *benedicite* for al among þat fare
The harm is don and fare wel feld[e]fare
[bendiste IV]

Tr 3. 860

whan his Ire / is thus agoon
He gan to looken vp / with eyen lighte
And spak thise same wordes / al on highte
The god of loue / A *benedicite*
How myghty / and how greet a lord is he
Ayeyns his myghte ther gayneth none obstacles

Kn 927 A 1785

I hadde almoost goon / to the clerkes bed
Ey *benedicite* / thanne hadde I foule y-sped
[benedyste 3]

Reue 366 A 4220

the parsoñ him answerde *benedicite*
What eyleþ þe man so synfully to swere

Shipm. Prol. 8 B 1170

O seinte Marie *benedicite*
What eyleth / this loue at me
To bynde me so soore
Thopas 94 B 1974

Out of the hyue / cam the swarm of bees
So hydous was the noyse / a *benedicitee*
Certes / he Iakke Straw . . .
Ne made / neu*e*re / shoutes half so shille
N Preest 627 B 4583

What dostow / at my neighebores hous
Is she so fair / artow so amorous
What rowne ye with our mayde *benedicite*
Sir*e* olde lecchour / lat thy Iapes be
Wyf. Prol. D 241

chidyng*e* wyues / maken men to flee
Out of hir owene house [] / a *benedicitee*
What eyleth / swich an old man for to chide
[house with benedicite 8]
Wyf Prol. D 280

His olde wyf / lay smylynge eu*e*remo
And seyde / o deere housbonde *benedicitee*
ffareth eu*e*ry knyght / thus *with* his wyf / as ye?
Wyf Tale 231 D 1087

And whan this yeman / hadde this tale ytold
Vn-to oure hoost / he seyde *benedicitee*
This thyng*e* is wonder m*e*rueillous to me
Chan. Yem. 75 G 629

(3) exclamation (entirely?) of joy:

euery lusty knyght*e* . . .
They wolde hir thankes / wilnen to be there
To fighte for a lady / *benedicitee*
It were a lusty sighte / for to see
[O benedicite 5]
Kn 1257 A 2115

PROPERTIANA

B. O. Foster

II. 15. 1 sq.

O me felicem! o nox mihi candida! et o tu
lectule deliciis facte beate meis!

All the editors, beginning with Passerat, who comment on *deliciis* understand it to mean the poet's *voluptas,* but it is much more probable that Propertius meant it to signify his mistress. Elsewhere he has the word but twice, and in both places it is employed of a person—

deliciaeque meae Latris, cui nomen ab usu est,
ne speculum dominae porrigat illa novae.
iv. 7. 75 sq.

felix intactum Corydon qui temptat Alexin
agricolae domini carpere delicias!
ii. 34. 73 sq.

Beate with an ablative of the person will then be used precisely as in the following passage—

nec quae deletas potuit componere Thebas,
Phryne tam multis facta beata viris.
ii. 6. 5 sq.

A parallel to this use of *deliciae* may be seen in the *gaudia* of i. 19. 9, *sed cupidus falsis attingere gaudia palmis.* The sentiment is similar to that in the epigram of Meleager—

Τὸ σκύφος ἡδὺ γέγηθε λέγει δ' ὅτι τᾶς φιλέρωτος
Ζηνοφίλας ψαύει τοῦ λαλιοῦ στόματος.
ὄλβιον· εἴθ' ὑπ' ἐμοῖς νῦν χείλεσι χείλεα θεῖσα
ἀπνευστὶ ψυχὰν τὰν ἐν ἐμοὶ προπίοι.
A. P. v. 171.

and in these closing lines of one by Agathias

πορθμεύει γὰρ ἔμοιγε κύλιξ παρὰ σοῦ τὸ φίλημα,
καί μοι ἀπαγγέλλει τὴν χάριν ἣν ἔλαβεν.
A. P. v. 261, 5 sq.

Or, for a modern instance, take Sir Philip Sidney's

O happy Thames that didst my Stella bear!

Sonnet ciii

or the sonnet addressed to the Highway, which concludes—

I wish you so much bliss
Hundreds of years you Stella's feet may kiss.

Sonnet lxxxiv

II. 27.

At vos incertam, mortales, funeris horam
quaeritis, et qua sit mors aditura via;
quaeritis et caelo, Phoenicum inventa, sereno,
quae sit stella homini commoda quaeque mala;
seu pedibus Parthos sequimur seu classe Britannos,
et maris et terrae caeca pericla viae.
rursus et obiectum flemus caput esse tumultu
cum Mavors dubias miscet utrimque manus;
praeterea domibus flammam domibusque ruinas,
neu subeant labris pocula nigra tuis.
solus amans novit quando periturus et a qua
morte, neque hic Boreae flabra neque arma timet.
iam licet et Stygia sedeat sub harundine remex,
cernat et infernae tristia vela ratis:
si modo clamantis revocaverit aura puellae,
concessum nulla lege redibit iter.

7. *flemus* F L D V, *fletus* N, *fletis* Itali.

The theme of this elegy is the contrast between the generality of mankind, who are made anxious by a thousand dangers, and the lover, who alone knows when and by what death he shall die. Propertius identifies himself with the lover, and addresses his poem to the profane majority—*vos . . . mortales . . . quaeritis . . . quaeritis.* The shift to first plural in verse 5 (*sequimur*) is not due to carelessness or vagueness. As Rothstein says, here "der Römer spricht," and the line means merely "whether Rome is warring on the Parthians or on the Britons." There is to be sure a slight inconcinnnity of thought involved here, for the comprehensive *mortales* of verse 1 has now been narrowed, in effect, to *Romani,* if, as seems most natural, verses 5 sq. be taken as qualifying what has preceded. But this is a very venial sin against logic, and no one would be so prosaic as to object to it in Propertius.

On the other hand *flemus* in verse 7 is not so easily explained. It is

clear from *rursus et* that we return in this line to the thought of verses 1 to 4. Again we have the worries and anxieties of the vulgar throng, and in verse 7, as in verses 1 to 4, we expect a *second* plural, not a *first*. Without looking any farther than 7 sq. one would accept as unquestionably right the *fletis* of some unknown Renaissance corrector.[1] It is precisely what the context leads us to expect, and N's *fletus*, meaningless, but close to the true reading in the *ductus litterarum*, may well have been the link between *fletis* and *flemus* (F L D V). Probably no scholar would have sought farther for the original text, had it not been for the disconcerting *tuis* of verse 10. If then it can be shown that *tuis* is very likely a false reading, and that the *second plural* holds throughout verses 7 to 10, it will not be necessary to doctor up line 9, by substituting *metuis* (L. Müller) for the second *domibus*.[2]

[1] There is, of course, a chance that Professor Housman's palaeographically neat *fles tu*, deduced from N and supported by *tuis* in vs. 10, is right. But the shift from second plural to second singular is uncalled for and painfully obscure. Its only warrant, so far as I know, is the somewhat analogous transition in ii. 25. 39 sqq.:

> at vos qui officia in multos revocatis amores,
> quantum sic cruciat lumina nostra dolor!
> vidistis pleno teneram candore puellam,
> vidistis fusco, ducit uterque color;
> vidistis quandum Argiva prodire figura,
> vidistis nostras, utraque forma rapit;
> illaque plebeio vel sit sandycis amictu:
> haec atque illa mali vulneris una via est.
> cum satis una tuis insomnia portet ocellis,
> una sit et cuivis femina multa mala.

But the shift from plural to singular is here intolerable, and I think Propertius wrote not *tuis* (dat.) but *suis* (abl.). cf. i. 1. 1.

> Cynthia prima *suis* miserum me cepit *ocellis*.

The expression would still, I admit, be open to criticism, inasmuch as mention of sleeplessness prepares the reader to take *ocellis* as dative with *insomnia*. But, on the other hand, the tendency to do so would readily account for the alteration of *suis* to *tuis*, in order to fit that interpretation of the line, and Propertius may well have felt that the public's familiarity with the opening line of the popular Monoobiblos was an ample guarantee that *suis ocellis* here would cause no difficulty or misunderstanding.

[2] *Flere* frequently implies *fear*, cf. Tib. i. 3. 13 sq.

> tamen est deterrita numquam
> quin fleret nostras respiceretque vias.

It is not, therefore, difficult to supply *timetis*, from *fletis*, as governing *domibus flammam*, etc., and there is not the slightest excuse for emending *domibusque*

I believe that Propertius wrote, in verse 10,

neu subeant *vestris* pocula nigra *labris*

and that *vestris,* coming to be contracted *uris,* was mis-copied *utis,*[3] a *vox nihili* which was then emended to *tuis,* a change which made necessary the transposition with *labris,* to mend the metre, and gave us the verse as it stands in our MSS.[4]

III. 9. 1-20

Maecenas, eques Etrusco de sanguine regum,
intra fortunam qui cupis esse tuam,
quid me scribendi tam vastum mittis in aequor?
non sunt apta meae grandia vela rati.
turpe est quod nequeas capiti committere pondus
et pressum inflexo mox dare terga genu.
omnia non pariter rerum sunt omnibus apta,
palma nec ex aequo ducitur ulla iugo.
gloria Lysippo est animosa effingere signa;
exactis Calamis se mihi iactat equis;
in Veneris tabula summam sibi poscit Apelles;
Parrhasius parva vindicat arte locum;
argumenta magis sunt Mentoris addita formae;
at Myos exiguum flectit acanthus iter;
Phidiacus signo se Iuppiter ornat eburno;
Praxitelen propria vindicat urbe lapis.
est quibus Eleae concurrit palma quadrigae,
est quibus in celeres gloria nata pedes;
hic satus ad pacem, hic castrensibus utilis armis:
naturae sequitur semina quisque suae.

Verse 8. *palma* Itali; *fama* 'in aliis codicibus legitur' Beroaldus; *flamma* N F V (*flamina* L D).

in order to eliminate the repetition. Lachmann did so (substituting ***dominisque***), but Lachmann had forgotten i. 2. 30 *quaeque - quaeque,* i. 7. 17 *longe - longe,* i. 8. 37 *quamvis magna - quamvis maiora,* i. 20. 26 *hunc super - hunc super,* i. 20. 32 *ibat - ibat,* ii. 6. 41 *numquam, numquam,* iii. 9. 45 *haec urant - haec urant,* iii. 11. 65 *haec di - haec di,* iii. 13. 49 *auro - auro,* and many other places.

[3] For confusion of *t* and *r* in MSS. of Propertius, see Professor Housman in Journ. of Phil. xvi. p. 32, where he cites i. 1. 35 vitate] *vitare* F, i. 1. 29 ferte] *ferre* A, i. 1. 31 remanete] *remanere* A. cf. Friedrich Cat. p. 62, who cites 11. 15 nuntiate] *nuntiare* O, 12. 1 Marrucine] *Matrucine* O G, 14. 18 curram] *cur tam* G.

[4] Propertius has *labris* again to close the pentameter - ponit vix siccis tristia iura labris (iv. 9. 64).

The elegy of which the first third is printed above is the poet's reply to Maecenas, who has asked him to undertake an epic theme.[5] After the address (1 sq.) verses 3 to 6 plead strength inadequate to the burden which Maecenas would lay upon his shoulders. Verses 7 to 20 develop the dogma that to win renown a man must make some one kind of endeavor peculiarly his own. Not all things are fit for all men (7): Lysippus's glory comes from the spirit he succeeded in giving his statues, that of Calamis from his finished horses, etc. Even Mys was reckoned among the masters, though for so slight a thing as skill in carving acanthus. "Each follows the seed that his nature has planted."[6]

My note is concerned with verse 8, a line which has provoked several ingenious interpretations, only to be pronounced "obscure" by Propertius's latest editor.

The Roman poets have a deal to say about their originality. That they copied Greek masters they were themselves the first to point out, and they claimed the discipleship as a virtue, but their scramble for precedence in the introduction of the various branches of Greek poetry to Latin readers is amusingly naïve It is almost as though they felt that priority in a given kind implied a sort of monopoly. That a man should write well was not enough: he must, if possible, make good his claim to exclusive ownership of some corner, no matter how small, of the field of poetry. It is in this spirit that Ennius attacks the presumption of certain uncouth versifiers who might be thought to have anticipated him—

> scripsere alii rem
> versibus quos olim Faunei vatesque canebant;
> cum neque musarum scopulos < quisquam superarat >
> nec dicti studiosus erat
>
> Ennius, Ann. 221 sqq.

He seems to have effectually ousted these precarious tenants—mere squatters, as it were, upon his claim—for Lucretius gives him a clear title to the premises—

> Ennius ut noster cecinit qui primus amoeno,
> detulit ex Helicone perenni fronde coronam
> per gentes Italos hominum quae clara clueret.
>
> Lucr. i. 117 sqq.

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[5] This is clear from the latter part of the poem, vv. 47 sqq.

[6] Postgate, Selections *ad loc.*

and Propertius recognizes in him the (Latin) originator of epic—

> Visus eram molli recubans Heliconis in umbra,
> Bellerophontei qua fluit umor equi,
> reges, Alba, tuos et regum fata tuorum,
> tantum operis, nervis hiscere posse meis;
> parvaque tam magnis admoram fontibus ora,
> unde pater sitiens Ennius ante bibit;
> et cecinit Curios fratres et Horatia pila,
> regiaque Aemilia vecta tropaea rate, etc.
> Prop. iii. 3. 1 sqq.

In another department Lucretius makes the same assertion of priority in his own behalf—

> avia Pieridum peragro loca nullius ante
> trita solo. iuvat integros accedere fontis
> atque haurire, iuvatque novos decerpere flores
> insignemque meo capiti petere inde coronam
> unde prius nulli velarint tempora Musae;
> Lucr. i. 926 sqq.

In a like strain Vergil—

> primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita supersit,
> Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas;
> Verg. Geor. iii. 10 sq.

and in another place—

> iuvat ire iugis qua nulla priorum
> Castaliam molli devertitur orbita clivo.
> Geor. iii. 292 sq.

Horace too boasts himself

> princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos
> deduxisse modos.
> Hor. Carm. iii. 30. 13 sq.

and again—

> libera per vacuum posui vestigia princeps,
> non aliena meo pressi pede. qui sibi fidet

> dux reget examen. Parios ego primus iambos
> ostendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus
> Archilochi, non res et agentia verba Lycamben.
> Ep. i. 19. 21 sqq.

and a few lines below—

> hunc [Alcaeum] ego, non alio dictum prius ore, Latinus
> vulgavi fidicen. iuvat immemorata ferentem
> ingenuis oculisque legi manibusque teneri.
> Ibid. 32 sqq.[7]

Propertius, too, sets up a like claim in the beginning of his third book—

> Callimachi manes et Coi sacra Philetae,
> in vestrum, quaeso, me sinite ire nemus.
> primus ego ingredior puro de fonte sacerdos
> Itala per Graios orgia ferre choros.
> Prop. iii. 1. 1 sqq.

and, a few lines further on—

> sed, quod pace legas, opus hoc de monte Sororum
> detulit intacta pagina nostra via.
> mollia, Pegasides, date vestro serta poetae:
> non faciet capiti dura corona meo.
> Ibid. 17 sqq.

and again,

> dixerat, et plectro sedem mihi monstrat eburno,
> qua nova muscoso semita facta solo est.
> iii. 3. 25 sq.

and, in the fourth book, the Babylonian says to the poet:

> at tu finge elegos, fallax opus: haec tua castra!—
> scribat ut exemplo cetera turba tuo.
> iv. 1. 135 sq.

In these and other places originality—with the limitation already noted—is claimed for their work by the several poets. Their achievement

[7] Contrast Serm. i. 10. 48, where Horace accounts himself in satire *inventore minor*.

is likened to scaling the mount whereon the Muses dwell (Ennius, Lucretius, Vergil, Propertius), whence they bring down (*detulit* Lucretius, Propertius; *deducam* Vergil; *deduxisse,* Horace) the Muses (Vergil), or a garland (Lucretius, Propertius), or fresh draughts of water (Lucretius, Propertius), or simply their poetry itself (Horace, Propertius).

In the light of these passages must be interpreted Prop. iv. 10. 1 sqq.

> Nunc Iovis incipiam causas aperire Feretri
> armaque de ducibus trina recepta tribus.
> magnum iter ascendo, sed dat mihi gloria vires:
> non iuvat e facili lecta corona iugo.

There can be no doubt that this last distich belongs with the places cited above. The 'easy ridge' is here that of erotic elegy, which the poet is quitting for a more arduous ascent,—of the peak where heroic elegy flourishes. Observe that the metaphor in *iugo* is essentially the same metaphor that we have found already in such passages as Lucretius i. 117 sqq., where *Helicon* means the source of poetry. In Propertius iv. 10 the *iugum* is specialized; no longer *the* hill of the Muses, the source of all poetry, it is become the particular hill set apart for a single kind of poetry. *Corona* is, of course, the emblem of supremacy in whatever department happens to be concerned.

We are now ready to explain *iugo* in iii. 9. If we may not say that it is precisely *Helicon,* the home of the Sisters Nine, it is, at least, used in a figurative sense closely akin to the metaphorical *Helicon,* and derived from it, just as *iugo* was found to be used in iv. 10. We must not then with Professor Postgate (Selections) take it as a yoke, comparing the ἐξισώσαντε ζυγά of Soph. El. 738; nor need we consider seriously Passerat's notion (adopted by Schulze, Röm. Eleg.): DUCERE FAMAM EX IUGO, *translatum ab aquis quae ducuntur et derivantur in locis inferioribus;* nor the equally fanciful interpretation of Rothstein, who, reading *flamma* (with N F V), would have the line mean 'nor is any fire-signal given from a level ridge.'[8] But I feel sure that Rothstein is right in his (implied) interpretation of *aequo iugo* as a 'level' or 'even ridge.' Certainly *aequo* can not here mean *facili ascensu,* as Lachmann thought, and Hertzberg correctly pointed out the difference between the idea underlying our verse and that at iv. 10. 4. In the latter case there is no

[8] Besides the overwhelming evidence of the parallel passages cited above there are further difficulties in the way of Rothstein's view. *Flamma* and *ducitur* must each be taken in a forced and unnatural way, nor is the metaphor to be paralleled, so far as I know.

thought of *rivalry*. It is a question of forsaking an easy path for a steeper one. In our passage, on the other hand, it is a matter of being highest among one's competitors, whether the peak in question be epic (a lofty mountain), or erotic verse (a hillock). The distich will then mean "All things are not equally fit for all men, nor is any palm fetched down from a level ridge." That is to say "One man is good at one thing, another man at another thing, nor does anybody win a prize of victory for achieving just what his neighbor achieves." If our mountain were an even, level ridge, so that it might be climbed by several, let us say parallel, paths, all of which reached the same altitude, no climber could outclimb any other. It must be a ridge of many peaks, some higher, some lower, each of which when appropriated by some one poet confers upon him a peculiar distinction of his own. It is the familiar notion of exclusive rights to some one kind of endeavor. Propertius means that another has already preëmpted the epic peak, and that his own prize must be sought on the hill of elegy—where no predecessor has anticipated him.[9]

As to the textual question,—if we reject *flamma,* which is read by the good MSS., but will not suit the context, we must agree with Mr. Butler that *palma* is preferable to *fama,* on palaeographical grounds, since it might more easily give rise to the corruption *flamma.* (Perhaps *palma* > *plama* > *flama* > *flamma* > *flamina*). Moreover *palma* 'palm-branch' is more concrete than *fama,* and *corona* at iv. 10. 4 is to be reckoned in its favor.[10] Finally, if my view of *aequo iugo* be right, *palma* (implying supremacy) is more logical than *fama* (implying merely excellence). It is not true that one must outstrip all competitors to win *fame,* but certainly one can not otherwise gain the *prize.*

[9] It would be interesting to know how Propertius would have disposed of the claims of Catullus and Gallus, not to speak of Tibullus.

[10] With Propertius's use of the figure cf. also

> mollia Pegasides date vestro *serta* poetae:
> non faciet capiti dura *corona* meo.
> iii. 1. 19 sq.

The word *palma* is similarly used as symbolical of supremacy, in the speech of the soothsayer:

> illa parit: libris est data palma meis.
> iv. 1. 102.

and again,

> nam tibi victrices quascumque labore parasti
> eludit palmas una puella tuas!
> Ibid. 139 sq.

Hertzberg's interpretation approximates that set forth above. He saw that the idea in our verse was somewhat different from that at iv. 10. 4, and showed the flaw in Lachmann's note, as I have said. But he failed to see that *aequo* meant 'level,' and tried to explain it as 'equal,' i. e., with another. This was overworking *aequo,* nor is there any need of it, if *iugo* be understood as a 'ridge' or 'range' rather than as a single 'peak.' That Propertius himself so used it at i. 12. 10, where he has the phrase *Prometheis iugis,* is the opinion of Schulze, who cites in support of this interpretation a passage in Caesar where it unquestionably bears the meaning 'ridge,' or 'range,' viz., B. G. vii. 36. 2 *omnibus eius iugi collibus occupatis;* and I may add Liv. xxxiii. 6. 9 *quia colles perpetuo iugo intererant.* The word *aequus* is used in the sense which I assign it here, e. g., at Caesar B. G. vii. 44. 3 *constabat inter omnes dorsum esse eius iugi prope aequum.*

III. 17. 29 sqq.

candida laxatis onerato colla corymbis
    cinget Bassaricas Lydia mitra comas,
levis odorato cervix manabit olivo,
    et feries nudos veste fluente pedes.
mollia Dircaeae pulsabunt tympana Thebae,
    capripedes calamo Panes hiante canent,
vertice turrigero iuxta dea magna Cybelle
    tundet ad Idaeos cymbala rauca choros.
ante fores templi crater antistitis auro
    libatum fundens in tua sacra merum.

The context shows that we must have a future verb in the last distich to complete the series *cinget—manabit—feries—pulsabunt—canent —tundet.* To supply *est,* or even *erit,* with the editors, would perhaps satisfy the demands of grammar, but the passage would be absurdly feeble, with such a conclusion. I suspect that Propertius wrote *libabit* in verse 38—"Before the doors of the temple the bowl of the priest shall offer sacrifice of wine, pouring it from golden cup in honor of thy rites." The personification of the *crater* needs no justification here, as it is rightly understood by the editors, who compare, *inter alia,*

pax aluit vites et sucos condidit uvae,
    funderet ut nato testa paterna merum:
                Tib. i. 10. 47 sq.

Propertius himself has something very similar in

> sit mensae ratio, noxque inter pocula currat,
> et crocino naris murreus ungat onyx.
> Prop. iii. 10. 21 sq.

And it is worth noting that he twice elsewhere uses *libare* with an impersonal subject—

> dum vernat sanguis, dum rugis integer annus,
> utere, ne quid cras libet ab ore dies!
> iv. 5. 59 sq.

> spargite me lymphis, carmenque recentibus aris
> tibia Mygdoniis libet eburna cadis.
> iv. 6. 7 sq.

The corruption was perhaps owing to confusion of the contraction for *libabit* (viz., *libab* with a cross stroke through *b*) with that for *libatum* (*libat* with an apostrophe over *t*). See Professor Lindsay's Contractions in Early Latin Minuscule MSS., p. 49 sq.

EARLY ETRUSCAN INSCRIPTIONS

FABRETTI 2342-2346

GEORGE HEMPL

How I, a Germanic scholar, came to be interested in Venetic and Etruscan, I have told in my report on the results of my Italic studies. This report has been delayed, chiefly by the difficulties inherent in such an undertaking, but it will now be published in a very short time. The present paper is an abstract from it. A few weeks before his death, Professor Matzke urged me to hasten the publication of my report. He said that my silence was being misinterpreted, and that I owed it not only to myself but also to my friends to publish something at once — if only a fragment. I was touched by what he said and the way in which he said it. It was almost exactly what another friend, Otto Jespersen, had written me from Copenhagen not long before, and what still others, as if by concert, now began to urge upon me. I saw the force of their arguments and decided to drop everything else and complete my report. And now that Fate has suddenly cut short the life of one of them, I can find no more appropriate tribute to lay on his grave than the fragment he so recently urged me to publish. If it seems abrupt or takes things for granted that I have given in the report but could not well incorporate here, scholars will, I trust, consider the circumstances of publication. There are, however, a few matters of a general character that must be briefly touched upon before I proceed with the interpretation of the inscriptions.

Etruscan is a sister of Latin. In their earlier stages the two languages can hardly be distinguished. But Etruscan matured far more rapidly and had already passed into old age when Latin was only attaining her majority. To put it otherwise, Etruscan is an Italic dialect that became a modern Romanic language in ancient times. Many of the forms, phonological changes, and other linguistic phenomena that we are wont to regard as characteristic of modern languages, are to be found in Etruscan long before the days of Julius Caesar. The development of the language, from the early stage when it was almost identical with Latin, down to the time when it was so different that the Romans regarded it as a totally alien tongue, can be traced step by step on the chiseled monuments that stand in our museums. In attempting to read Etruscan, scholars have, however, largely confined themselves to a study of late inscriptions, and have permitted the relatively

modern forms that they there found to blind them to the original character of the language—much as Old-English scholars once did with West Saxon. The situation in which the philological world at present finds itself with reference to Etruscan is as regrettable as it is extraordinary. The kinship of Etruscan and Latin lies open for all men to observe, and yet this fact is denied by practically all Indo-European philologists. Moreover, the study of this important Italic language has been permitted to fall into the hands of a school, which has made of this denial a cardinal dogma and has prescribed for its disciples a rule of conduct, or only-legitimate method of study. Here, carefully screened from the light of Indo-European philology, "Etruscologists" spin airy webs, while without, in the busy world of learning, scholars concern themselves with other things. It would be impossible for me here to discuss the situation in detail. I must, in this paper, restrict myself to the presentation of three very early inscriptions, and I shall be satisfied if I succeed in making it clear that early Etruscan can scarcely be distinguished from Old Latin.

The inscriptions will be found in Fabretti's *Corpus*, Tab. XLII, 2343-2346. All I know about their origin is what Fabretti quotes* on page CCIV, namely, that they are from various friezes or paintings found in ancient Etruscan tombs near Corneto-Tarquinii. So far as I can learn, their genuineness has never been questioned, nor their Etruscan character. A study of the forms of the letters shows that we have three, not four, inscriptions; for 2345 and 2346 are parts of one and the same. The first two give the names etc. of the dead; the last (2346-2345) pertains to the formalities of cremation. I can not detect any material difference in age, either epigraphic or linguistic. Perhaps the forms of the letter for *a* prove 2344 to be the oldest, and 2346-2345 to be the youngest. According to Etruscan custom, the writing runs from right to left, but I have reproduced it in our way. I have also substituted for the Etruscan characters the conventional transcription, in Italics, and have added the phonetic transcription in Roman.

In the grammatical discussion, a prefixed asterisk (*) marks a reconstructed word or form; a prefixed period (.) indicates phonetic spelling. An apostrophe (') before an .l .m .n or .r signifies that the consonant is syllabic. The letters .y and .w represent the voiced fricative consonants heard in English *ye* and *woo*. The macron (¯) is added to a long vowel, rather than placed over it. The pitch accents of Greek and Sanskrit are indicated by the usual signs. The sign for stress, in accordance with the best modern usage, precedes the stressed syllable; but, to avoid misunderstanding, I use the grave (`), in order that it may point toward the syl-

*"*essais des différentes frises ou peintures qui se trouvent dans les souterrains des anciens Étrusques près de Corneto* (Piranesi *De Rom. magnificentia et architectura,* Romae 1761)."

lable to be stressed, not away from it. I have indicated the stress only when it has shifted from the initial syllable. The phonetic characters employed are the usual ones, the vowels having their German values, and the consonants their English. The turned *e* (.ə) stands for an obscure vowel, for example, that beginning the word *ago* and that ending the name *Anna*. Small capital .ᴋ and .ɢ represent the velar stops in *cook* (.ᴋuᴋ) and *good* (.ɢud), as distinguished from the more palatal sounds in *kick* (.kik) and *give* (.giv). A curl over a velar consonant indicates labialization. Thus we hear *quick* sometimes as .ǩik, sometimes as .ᴋwik. Compare also *alive* (.ə'laiv), *devout* (.di'vaut), *eatable* (.i¯təb'l), *Wednesday* (.wenzdi), *purely* (.pyu¯rli), etc. s′ is a conventional way of representing a distinct *s*-sound usually due to contraction; it has nothing to do with accent. *r′* represents an Umbrian variety of *r*.

It should be noted that, as in most other early scripts, no graphic distinction is made between voiced, voiceless, and aspirated stop consonants. Thus *t* may stand for pure .t, for aspirated .t, or for .d, and *p* for .p, aspirated .p, or .b, etc.; just as we use *s* for .s (as in *so*) and for .z (as in *rose*). Furthermore, *θ φ χ* are employed with exactly the same values as *t p k* (or *c*). Thus, while *k* stands for .ᴋ or .ɢ, *χ* too may stand for .ᴋ or .ɢ. Similarly in English, while *k* stands for .ᴋ (for example, in *hook*), so too, *c* may stand for .ᴋ (as in *cool*), while it may also stand for .s (for example, in *city* etc.). Moreover, in Etruscan a *u* may stand for .u or .o, or for an obscure vowel (like that in Latin *optumus* or *optimus*), while *v* too may stand for .u or .o, or for a similar consonant (.w .f etc.).

I should state that in Etruscan, as in primitive Italic generally, the stress originally fell on the first syllable. From this it shifted in Latin to a long penult or to the syllable preceding a short penult. In Etruscan a different principle prevailed. The stress regularly stayed on the first syllable if that contained a long vowel or a diphthong. If it contained a short vowel, the stress shifted to the nearest long vowel or diphthong; see *Xermupi*, *φericaru*, *stani*, etc., below. This shift is often betrayed by the reduction of the vowel of the initial syllable (for example, *naφoθs′* = .nə'po¯ts′ < .nepo¯ts, Latin *nepo¯s*, 'grandson,' Lemnos Stone; also .ə(n)nə'ke¯, variously spelled *annice* (F. III, 391), *eneke* (F. 2614), *uneke* (F. I, 234), *unuke* (Gamurrini, 607 and 608) 'granted, gave,' Latin *annuit* 'assented, granted,' see also *raneθ* below); or by its total disappearance (see *fravvmv* page 122; *θne* < τομή, page 116; and *eca s′uθis* (.e'ᴋa¯ s′uttis < .ᴋsup-ti-s 'the down below') 'this tomb,' F. Tab. XLI. 2183, later *ca suθi*, F. 1933, CIE. 4539); sometimes by other phonological changes. Compare also *Mliθuns* = .mli'to¯ns < Μιλίτων, *Plunice* = .plu'ni¯kə < Πολυνεικής, etc., which caused Skutsch and others trouble. The shift took place at a very early date, after the shortening of final -o¯ (see *Vecaθ* below) but before the change of medial -d- to -l- (see *θriφtent*, page 121).

FABRETTI 2343

This inscription was cut on the beveled edges of the octagonal capital of a column. Unable to read the text, scholars did not know where it began, and guessed wrong.

Vecaθ Xermupi φericaru :n stani puru hem:
(.weĸat kermə'bi⁻ peri'ĸa⁻ro n[a⁻to] stan'ni⁻ pu⁻ro hem)
'Vecath, the beloved son of Chermupu, a man free of alloy.'

It will be observed that there are two puncts at the end of the legend, and also before the abbreviation *n* = *natu*.

Except for the loss of final -o⁻ in *Vecaθ* and *hem*, the inscription might be Old Latin as well as Etruscan.

Vecaθ (.weĸat) < .weĸato⁻, Greek *Fεκάτων, Ἑκάτων, whence Latin *Hecato*. The true Latin form would be **Vecato*, but I find no trace of such a name in Italy, see *Xermupi* below. In Etruscan a final long -o regularly shortened after a short syllable (compare iambic shortening in Latin*) and early fell away. The shortening obviously took place earlier than the shift of stress spoken of above. With *Vecaθ* from .weĸato⁻, compare *hem* from .hemo⁻ below. Also *Uni* (.u⁻ni < .u⁻nio < .u⁻nio⁻ < .yu⁻no⁻) 'Juno,' and *Θuplθa*, page 115. With these, contrast names like *Laru* (.la⁻ro⁻), spelled *Laaro* in Latin, and *Maru* (.mar'ro⁻), page 116; and such a verb as *niceθu* (.nik(ə)'to⁻) 'pledge,' Latin *necto* 'bind, oblige, pledge,' F. 2404.

Xermupi (.kermə'bi⁻) is the genitive of the name *Κέραμβος*. Such changes as -am- > -əm- > -mə- are common, *cf.* Greek *Her-ac-les* > Latin *Her-cu-les*. From the names *Vecaθ* and *Xermupi*, it is clear that we have to do with members of a Greek family. There evidently were not a few Greeks among the Etruscans, even in the earliest times (observe the *V*-, not *H*-, of the name *Vecaθ*), who acquired wealth and standing. A notable case is that recorded on the *grande sepolcro* (Gamurrino, 799) of Laris Pulena, who is stated to be 'the great-grand-son of Laris Pule the Greek'—*prumts Puleś Larisal Creices*. Compare also the story of Demaratus, the reputed Greek progenitor of the Tarquin family.

*In Etruscan we fortunately are not, as in Latin, dependent upon the evidence furnished by metrical texts and upon the conflicting interpretations that modern scholars have put upon ancient metrical usage. The loss of -o⁻ after a short syllable and its preservation after a long syllable are facts that can not be argued away. At another time I shall show that the Old-English loss of a final short -u after a long syllable and its retention after a short syllable, instead of offering (as argued by Sweet and Sonnenschein, *Classical Philology*, January, 1911, page 3) evidence against the doctrine of iambic shortening, offers evidence for it.

φericaru (.peri`ka¯ro) 'very dear,' Latin *perca¯rus*. In all but the very oldest Etruscan (for example, *apastvs eθ palamneus tupanktvs*, F. 2341), final -s disappeared, as in Old Latin, after a short vowel, provided no vowel followed. At an early date, the *s*-less forms prevailed in Etruscan, the *s*-forms in Latin. Observe *puru*, *sθvnimv*, *Titv*, *χsimeu*, *icamus*, *fravvmv* below; also *eluri* under *θriφtent*, page 121. Later the -o became -ə, written *-e*, see *Titv*, page 117. *peri-* is, of course, older than the *per-* of Latin *per-ca¯rus*.

:n is an abbreviation for *natu* (.na¯to) 'son,' Latin *(g)na¯tus*. (For n- < Gn-, see *stani* below.) Compare the use of *f* in Latin inscriptions as an abbreviation for *fi¯lius*.

stani (.stan`ni¯) 'of alloy,' genitive of the word seen in Latin *stannum* 'alloy.' Italian *stagno* and the other Romanic forms point to a Latin **stagnum* 'alloy.' Compare Latin *stagna¯re* 'plate with alloy.' As medial -Gn- becomes -nn- in Etruscan but not in Latin, it is evident that the Romans adopted the Etruscan form with its -nn-. This suggests Etruscan influence on Rome in the matter of the working of the metals, which is just what we have reason to expect. But differentiation from *stagnum* 'water that has flooded land,' 'standing water,' 'swamp,' doubtless contributed towards fixing the Etruscan form in Roman speech. Historically, *stagnum* 'a piece of shallow standing water, a fen' is one and the same word as *stagnum/stannum* 'a metal wash, the alloy used in plating.' English *wash* too has both meanings. Initial Gn- became (n)n- in both Etruscan and Latin, see *n*[*atu*] above.

puru (.pu¯ro), Latin *pu¯rus* 'pure,' 'free of,' compare Horace's *sceleris purus*. For the loss of -s see *φericaru* above.

hem is from .hemo < .hemo¯, Old Latin **hemo¯*, *hemo¯nem*, Latin *homo* 'man.' For the loss of -o¯, see *Vecaθ*, page 114.

Note on *Janus*

The *Ani* 'Janus' that is often cited (Körte, *Etrusker*, in the Pauly-Wissowa Real-encyclopädie, 767), as a sort of mate to *Uni* 'Juno,' is a ghost-word. The idea is based upon the erroneous supposition that the Bronze Liver has *Ani θne*, in section 6. Close scrutiny reveals the fact that the text reads *Tins θne*, corresponding to the *Tins θne-θ Θuflθas* in the inner sections 18-20. It is remarkable, however, how near Janus was all the time. For *θuflθa*, or *θuplθa* (F. 1054, CIE. 445) is .dup'l`ta¯ < .dupil`ta¯ < .du`pla¯ti < .du`pla¯tio < .du`pla¯tio¯ 'doubleness.' (For the shortening and loss of -o¯ after -i, see *Vecaθ*, page 114.) That is, we have before us no other than Janus Bifrons, who so often appears in the form of a lamp-statuette, called *alpan* (.al`pa¯n < .lam`pa¯, Greek λάμπη). This Etruscan

word for 'lamp' has been deified and been used to add formidableness to the list of Etruscan divinities whose names are supposed to be incapable of reconciliation with Indo-European. The *Tins θne (e)θ Θuflθas* on the Bronze Liver is *Jovis templum et Ja¯ni¯* 'The section ('temple' in the technical sense) of Jupiter and Janus.' *θne* is .tne¯ < .tə̀me¯ < Greek τομή 'section' (compare the *tem-* in Latin *templum*). The Etruscan -e¯ < Greek -η betrays non-Doric Greek influence on Etruscan divination. While on some of the lamp-statuettes the old Italic god is called *Θuplθa* (*Θuplθas' alpan* 'lamp-statuette of *Thuplθa*,' F. 1054, CIE. 445), on others he is given a name corresponding to Latin *Janus Clusius*. Thus on F. 1051, CIE. 437, we find *Culs'ans'i alpan*, and on F. 1052, CIE. 438, *S'elans'l alpan*. *Culs'an-s'i* (.kəl's'a¯ns'i) and *S'elan-s'l* (.s'ə'la¯ns''l) are genitives of one and the same name, that is 'Janus Collus,' or 'Turn-neck Janus,' compare our slang term *rubber neck* 'person who has the habit of looking back to watch others, while he tries to keep on walking ahead.' This *collus* is from .ǩolsos, .ǩelsos, √ǩel 'turn, twist,' *cf.* Latin *collum*, *collus*, etc. The Etruscan *Culs'-* is for ǩols- ; *S'el-* is from .skel < ǩels-. The initial i- or y- before the long a¯ of .ia¯no- regularly assimilated to the preceding consonant (see *χsimeu* below), whence the syllable *-a¯n-* . But we do not find *Colsos* or *Collus* in Latin ; for through popular etymology and association with *clu¯do*, *clu¯sus*, the name assumed the form *Clu¯sius*. The use of an effigy of Janus to hold a light is, of course, due to his being the old Italic god of light.

FABRETTI 2344

Maru : sθvnimv-m Titv: χsimeu letive : Iapzi smalvi : Θanriθer
(.mar'ro¯ stu¯nimo-m tito ksimeo le¯ti¯ve¯ i'a¯ptsi¯ smal'wi¯ tanriter)
'Maru the sturdy and Titv the distinguished, dead (*or* who died) of the Iapygian disease at Tarentum.'

It will be observed that the only punctuation consists of double puncts to mark proper names. Such punctuation stands after the two personal names and before the two geographical names.

Maru (.mar'ro¯) is to Latin *Maro* as *Marro¯nius* is to *Maro¯nius* (Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, page 189). *Maro* would appear in Etruscan as **Mar* (see *Vecaθ* above), while *Marius* would be **Mariu*, later *Marie* (F. 654, CIE. 2451), still later **Mari*.

sθvnimv (.stu¯nimo) 'very sturdy' or 'very steadfast,' a superlative in *-imo-s*, cf. Sanskrit *sthu¯rás* or *sthu¯lás* 'thick, large, strong,' and Sanskrit *sthú¯na¯*, Greek στῦλος 'post, column,' originally 'phallus.' The change of medial -l- to -n- is common to a large part of the Etruscan territory. Still, the Etruscan adjective may have the -n- of Sanskrit *sthú¯na¯* rather than the -l- of Greek στῦλος. For the loss of -s, see *φericaru*, page 115.

-m 'and,' here = .m, as on the Lemnos Stone and often elsewhere. In F. 2345 below, it is syllabic (= .'m); but we also find *-em* (*les'c-em*, Magliano) and *-um* (*aχr-um* F. 2598) = .əm. This is the same word as Old-Latin *em*, *im* 'then,' seen also in Latin *(inter)im*, formed like *interdum*. Compare Umbrian *enom* 'then' = Palignian *inom* 'and' = Latin *enim* 'for.' Also Umbrian *pun-um* 'quando-que' (Buck's Oscan and Umbrian Grammar, § 201, 5). For the relation of idea between 'and' and 'then,' compare the like use of "then ——, then ——, then ——," and "and ——, and ——, and ——," in narration. The Etruscan word is almost always enclitic ; in F. 2345 (page 122), it introduces a new clause. When so used, it seems to have retained the old sense 'then.'

Titv (.tito) < .titos, Latin *Titus*. This .tito later became .titə, written *Tite*, see *φericaru*, page 115.

χsimeu (.ʀsimeo), Latin *eximius* 'distinguished.' An initial short vowel was often lost in forms having the stress on a succeeding long vowel, compare *e'ca⁻*, later *ca⁻*, page 113. Before a long vowel, *i* was consonantal (that is, .y) and assimilated to a preceding consonant, doubling it if immediately preceded by a short vowel. Thus .əksim'ya⁻s > .ʀsim'ma⁻s. (This gemination of the preceding consonant after a short vowel is proved by Latin spellings like *Spurinna*, *Porsenna*, etc.; see also *raneθ*, page 123.) Observe the masculine family names *Tarχ'na⁻s* and *Tarc'na⁻* < **Tarcni'a⁻s* and **Tarcni'a⁻* (originally respectively genitive and ablative of the *-ia* feminine name of the family, which was added to the first name just as the tribal name in *-ia* was in Latin), also the derived feminine *Tarχ'nai*; and compare these with the original feminine nominative '*Tarχnia*'. As e- is lost in *χsimeu* too, it is clear that the comparatively few forms of the adjective that did not end in a long vowel adopted the shortened form of those that did; but it is not certain whether they also shifted their stress to the final syllable or simply had it on the first syllable of the shortened form. The medial *i* or *e* certainly did not disappear before the short -o. Moreover, it is clear that the initial stress of the nominative, accusative, and vocative (the most commonly used cases of a name) held its own in masculine names like *Tavarsio* (.taursio, Greek ταύρε(σ)ιος, Latin *Taurius*) on the Lemnos Stone, and the later *Askamie* (.asʀkamiə < .asʀkanios, Greek 'Ασκάνιος, Latin *Ascanius*), F. 2614 quat., and the still younger *Fulni* (.folni < .folniə < .folnio(s) < .folwios, Latinized as *Folnius*, but in real Latin, *Fulvius*) F. 251 and II. p. 28 Tab., CIE. 428. *χsimeu* and *sθvnimv* may be common adjectives or cognomens, I am not sure which.

letive (.le⁻ti⁻we⁻), the nominative plural masculine of .le⁻ti⁻wo, Latin **le⁻ti⁻vus* 'killed,' 'dead,' is to *le⁻tum* 'death,' as *furti⁻vus* 'stolen' is to *furtum* 'theft,' and as *capti⁻vus* 'captured' is to *captus* 'capture,' etc.

The ending -e¯ (compare Old-Latin *ploirume¯* for the later *plu¯rimi¯*) is the intermediate stage between older (-oi >) -ei and later -i¯. Compare (F. 314, Tab. XXV, CIE. 52) *fvimv — pace* (.fu¯imo paK'Ke¯, for KK < Kt, cf. *θuχtiθ*, page 122), Latin *fuimus pacti¯ ;* with *fvimv*, compare *fravvmv*, page 122.

Iapzi (.i'a¯ptsi¯), genitive of **Iapzu* (.i'a¯ptso) 'Iapygian,' 'pertaining to the 'Ιάπυγες' (the natives of 'Ιαπυγία, whence Latin *Iapygia*, the territory about Tarentum, and thus northwest of Greece), of which 'Ιâπυξ 'the northwest wind' is really the singular. For the origin of the name, see page 119.

smalvi (.smal'wi¯), the genitive singular of **smalvu* < .smalwom 'evil, disease,' Latin *malum* 'evil, misfortune, injury.' The Etruscan form finally determines the etymology of the Latin word and establishes its connection with English *small*, the development of the idea 'small' into that of 'bad' being common the world over. For the *-v-* (.w) seen in the Etruscan form and in French *mauvais*, see also Venetic *malua* 'evils,' Pauli, AIF. III. No. 201. With the use of *malum* in the sense of 'disease,' compare the like use of *evil* in early English, still more or less familiar in *king's evil* 'scrofula.' Also *malady* (from Late-Latin *male habitus*), and *illness* (which formerly meant 'badness'), and *He's very bad to-day* 'He's very sick to-day.' My colleague Professor Elmore calls my attention to the following from Horace (Sat. I. 5, 62):—

Campanum in morbum, in faciem permulta jocatus,

as to which Morris says: "Some disease, not understood even by the scholiasts." This naming of a disease from the place where it is found is not uncommon. We, too, speak of the *Roman fever*, *Texas fever*, *Gambian disease*, *Syrian plague*, *Aden ague*, *englische Krankheit*, etc.

*θanriθer** (.tanriter) 'at Tarentum.' Etruscan *Θanriθer*, Latin *Tarento-*, and Greek Ταραντ- (in Τάρας, *-αντος*) are all corruptions of Greek .tarthen-, which is a doublet of .parthen-, seen in παρθένος 'maid.' The Indo-European form was .ĕherĕhe¯r > .ĕherĕhe¯n, genitive ĕh'r'ĕhenos. According as the stress permitted, the first syllable was .ĕher- or .ĕh'r-, and this variety was regularly reflected in Greek by forms with τερ- and forms with παρ-. Thus, while the nominative was *τερθήν, there were oblique forms like the genitive παρθένος. A competition set in, whereby one of the rival forms (.ter- or .par-) won the day, or a compromise form (.tar-) resulted. In Greek we find the old genitive παρθένος employed, but regarded as the nominative of an *o*-stem. This passed into North-Eastern Etruscan; but with it the old nominative *τερθήν also came in, becoming

*The identity of the initial letter is partly concealed by an accidental mark, slighter and different from the strokes of the letters.

by metathesis *tre'te¯n*. Thus at the beginning of the very old .Novilara inscription we find :—

Partenus' polem is'airon tet
'A maid presented this pedestal,'

and at the close, in more elaborate form :—

Treten telet aunem polem tis'u s'otris' eus'
'A maid presented this (same) pedestal in accordance with the testament of her benefactor.'

tet (.de¯d) is from *tetet* (de'de¯d), while *telet* (.'deled) is from .'deded, see under *raneθ*, page 123. *polem* < .podem = *πόδα*. *is'airon* < .isto- + .aiso-m, cf. Latin *iste* and Oscan *eísu-d* . *aunem* = Latin *eundem*, with regular change of medial -nd- to -nn- . For other details see my report.

The compromise form .tar- is found in *Τάρας*, *-αντος*, and in Latin *Tarentum* and Etruscan *Θanriθer*. All the forms show metathesis of one kind or another. The Greek and the Latin forms betray the influence of *nt-* and *nto*-stems, the name thus falling in with such names as Uzentum, Hydruntum, Sipontum, etc. (Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, page 260). The Etruscan form retains the dental stop in its original position (.tarthen-, *Θanriθer*), but it suffers a peculiar metathesis of the surrounding sonorants : thus the *r* and the *n* exchange places, but under the influence of the original form, the *r* is restored next to the *n* that had taken its place. The form *Θanriθer* is a locative without suffix (Brugmann, II. §256 and 257), the word being a consonant stem in Etruscan, as originally in Greek.

This makes it clear that the name of the city is no other than *tre'te¯n*, or *παρθένος* 'the maid,' that is, *'Αθήνη Παρθένος*. This *Treten* stands to the locative *θanriθer* exactly as *'Αθήνη* does to the locative *'Αθῆναι*. The naming of Tarentum for Athene probably goes back to the early Cretans that are reported to have been instrumental in building the city, and whose speech, as revealed by the writing on the seals etc. found by Evans and others, I shall soon show to be pure Attic. The association of the name of the town with the Spartan Parthenians was doubtless secondary, and probably due only to popular etymology. As is well known, the various ancient accounts are contradictory.

Note on *Iapzi*

In *Iapzi* we have an important name that has been much discussed but still sadly needs elucidation. We may best begin by comparing the form *'Ιάπυγες* with *'Ιάποδες*, the name of an allied branch living in Illyria. Kretschmer (*Einleitung*, p. 260) says: "Der Wechsel der Stammform in

'Ιάποδες : 'Ιάπυγες hat eine Parallele an κλᾱϝιδ- 'Schlüssel' : dor. κλᾱικ- (Theokrit) und ὄρνιδος : ὄρνιχος.'' This is certainly beside the mark. I cannot see how we can proportion δ : γ :: δ : κ :: δ : χ. Moreover, -οδε- by the side of -υγε- appears to tell a very plain story. In 'Ιάπυγες/'Ιάποδες we have a Greek compound name, meaning 'men who fight with vigor,' or 'fierce fighters.' The first element is the stem .isa⁻ 'vigor, virility,' compare .eisa⁻ in Latin *eira*, *i⁻ra*, 'impetuosity, passion, rage, etc.,' .isə'ro-s in Greek *ἱερός* / *ἰαρός*, Sanskrit *isrá-s*, 'strong, vigorous, active, etc.' The second is the stem .puG seen in Greek *πύκτης* 'boxer,' Latin *pugil* 'boxer,' *pugna* 'fight.' The form 'Ιάπυγες is clear. But .puG involves the labial .p, the labiovelar .u, and the velar .G. Such a grouping is more or less unstable, especially in the unstressed member of a compound. By the shift of tense labialization from the .u to the .G, there arose the stem .poĞ, with labial .p and labiovelar .Ğ. Before ε, this .poĞ regularly developed into ποδ, hence the form 'Ιάποδες. The form 'Ιάπυδες is clearly a contamination of 'Ιάπυγες and 'Ιάποδες, and may be purely literary.

The Umbrian forms *Iapusco*, *Iabuscom*, etc. in Latin script, and *Iapuzkum* in Umbrian script, are interesting. The ending -(*i*)*sko-* is an adjective ending used with the names of peoples, cf. Latin *Opsci⁻*, *Osci⁻*, *Falisci⁻*, etc. (Buck § 256), and particularly Germanic names like Old-English *Wylisc* 'Welsh,' *Scyttisc* 'Scotch,' *Englisc* 'English,' etc. (Kluge, *Stammbildungslehre*, § 210); for which we usually find in Latin and Greek the related *-iko-* : 'Ινδικός, *Germa⁻nicus*, etc. The spelling *u* in the Latin script proves that the Umbrian word had .u, not .o. After this .u, we expect .G, hence the early form for the Umbrian word was **Ia⁻pug(i)sko-*, which by contraction would become **Ia⁻puksko-*, but the lost voice of .G was usually transferred to the .p, so that we get **Ia⁻buksko-*. The **Ia⁻pu-d(i)sko-* that is usually assumed as the basis of the Umbrian forms (Planta, I. p. 70 etc.; Kretschmer, p. 259; Buck, §256) is impossible; for such a form would have given us in Umbrian, not *Iapuzkum*, but an *Iapur'skum*, corresponding to *etur'stamu*, as Planta realizes (I. p. 407). By partial assimilation of K. to .s, .Ia⁻puKsKo- became .Ia⁻putsKo- (reflected in the Umbrian spelling *Iapuzkum*), and later, by complete assimilation, .Ia⁻-pu(s)sKo- (reflected in the Latin script *Iapusco*).

It is impossible to tell whether the Etruscan *Iapzi* (.i'a⁻ptsi⁻) arose out of .ia⁻podisKo- or out of .ia⁻puGisKo-. That the *z* still spelled .ts (< .ds or < .Ks < .G-s) there can be no doubt; for *z* is the usual Etruscan (as also the Venetic) spelling for .ts or .st. Of the many illustrations of this I need cite but two: (1) .ts : *zal* (.tsa⁻l) 'three,' see p. 18; (2) .st : *heczri* (.(h)eK'stri⁻), Latin *exteri⁻* 'of the stranger,' F. 1915, CIE. 4116. Further details, as also the evidence that the Iapygians were Greeks, will be found in my report.

FABRETTI 2346 AND 2345

2346: *Icamus ia θriφtent-χa . pi*

2345: *m-θuχtiθ . nvhunt . aisaru . ustvn . fravvmv pici . fust . raneθ*

.i⁻ĸa⁻mos ya⁻ trip'de⁻nt-ĸə pi⁻

'm-duĸtit no⁻o⁻nt aisaro⁻ us'to⁻n fra⁻wəmo piki bust ran'ne⁻d.

'Now let us strike [the lyre], and let the devout ones dance the sacred dance. Then lead thou forth, O Messenger of the Gods, the burner of the dead; we have brought the pitch, he will sprinkle the place of burning.'

The punct is missing in several places, probably simply because no longer distinguishable.

icamus (.i⁻ĸa⁻mos) 'let us strike up,' Latin *i⁻ca⁻mus*, volitive subjunctive of *i⁻co* 'strike.'

ia (.ya⁻) < **iam*, Latin *jam* 'now.' Final -m disappeared in Etruscan long before final -s did, and a preceding short stressed mid vowel (.e or .o) early became silent, see *fust* but *aisaru* and *pici*, page 122.

θriφtent (.trip'de⁻nt) 'let them dance the tripodatio,' Latin *tripodent*, volitive subjunctive of *tripodo*, *-a⁻re*, 'to dance (as a religious performance).' In Etruscan a really medial -d- regularly becomes -l- : *mlaχ eluri zeri-c* (.mla⁻ɢ elori tse'ri⁻k) = *μάλαγμα adoris seri⁻que* 'a batter of spelt and whey' (Mummy Ms. 5-22); see also -a⁻deĸ- >-a⁻ləĸ- , page 124. But in .tripo'de⁻nt, the -d- began the stressed syllable and was, therefore, virtually initial. Etruscan *eluri* corresponds to the Old-Latin variant *edoris*. Latin *edo⁻ris* would be .e'do⁻ri in Etruscan and would have been written **eturi*; cf. *tetet* under *raneθ*, page 123.

-χa (.ĸə), Latin *-que* 'and.' The Capuan Tablet still has *χue* (.ĕə), but Etruscan .ĕ early became .ĸ,* hence we usually find *-ce* (F. 2598), *-χe* (F. 2327 ter *b* and very frequently elsewhere), or *-χa* (as here), all = .ĸə, or we find *-c* (see under *θriφtent* above), with the obscure vowel lost. But unstressed -ĕə at times became -ĸlə, thus we find *-cle*, *-χle* and *-χla* '-que,' which persisted after .ĕ had become .ĸ in other words: *Lautnes'-cle caresri Aules'* 'of Lautne and dearest Aule' (F. 1915, CIE. 4116). With the

*Where .ĸw is found in later texts, it is foreign (*Cvinte* < Latin *Quintus*) or of secondary development (*-χva* < *-tra(ns)* in the Mummy Ms., 8–3 etc.: *celi huθis' zaθrumis' fler-χva Neθunsl* 'walk thirty-four times past the statue of Neptune'). *celi* is .ĸe⁻le⁻ < .ĸe⁻de⁻, 'walk, stride.' From Latin *ce⁻de* we should expect *cel*, with loss of the short *-e*, certainly in so late a text. *celi* (< .ĸe⁻de⁻) makes more probable Brugmann's derivation from *ce* + √*sed* (see Walde). It would seem actually to be from *ce-sedeo* 'sit here,' 'come on over here and sit with me,' 'come along, don't stand there,' 'come on,' 'march,' etc. As in Umbrian etc., the .e⁻ in Etruscan was very close and was often written *i*, especially when unstressed.

more usual Etruscan *-χa*, *-χe*, etc., compare Venetic *-ka* (No. 22), *-ke* (No. 9), *-χe* (No. 291). The genitive ending *-es* (in northern spelling, *-es'*), seen in *Pules* and *Creices*, page 114, and in *Lautnes'* and *Aules'*, is .e¯s < .eis, Oscan *-eis*, Umbrian *-es* / *-er* (Buck, §171), which arose in the *i*-stems.

pi (.pi¯), Latin *pii¯* or *pi¯*, 'the devout ones,' here probably the hired mourners.

m- (.'m) 'then,' see *-m*, page 117.

θuχtiθ (.duktit, Latin *ductita¯*, imperative of *ductito* 'lead, lead along, lead forth.' In Etruscan this verb is of the third conjugation, with final short -e regularly lost. The -kt- is a sign of great age, for .kt early became .k(k) in Etruscan, cf. *pace* under *letive*, page 117.

nvhunt (.no¯o¯nt) 'messenger.' The word originally meant 'newcomer,' being due to the conglomeration of **neu(i)os *uentos*, *nov(i)us ventus*. The Etruscan word is the same as Latin *nu¯ntius* 'messenger'; but the peculiar phonology led to changes that were not identical in the two languages. In considering these, it should not be forgotten that the Italic stress rested on the initial syllable. In Latin we find the development: **neuios uentos*, which by metathesis of *-ios* and *-os* and regular change of -sw- to -w- (Sommers, p. 231*b*) became **neuouentios* > (Sommers, p. 97) **neuentios* > (Sommers p. 74, 2) *nouentios* > (Sommers, §86) **nountios* > (Sommers, p. 175) *nu¯ntius*. Etruscan, on the other hand, developed as follows (in Latin spelling) **neuos uentos* > **neuouentos* > **nououentos* > **nouountos* > *no¯o¯ntos*, the vocative of which (with regular loss of final *-e*) is our .no¯o¯nt, speld *nvhunt*.

aisaru (.aisəro¯) < .aisəro¯m, genitive plural, 'of the gods.' The 'messenger of the gods' was Mercury, who also conducted the souls of the dead to the lower world. The invocation is, therefore, to him. *aisar* (*aesar Etrusca lingua* '*deus*,' Suetonius) is a variant of *aisos* (*αἰσοὶ* '*θεοὶ*' *ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν*, Hesychius), see Buck, page 12 etc. Contrast the retention of *-u*, which represents -o¯ < -o¯m, with the complete loss of short -om in *fust* below.

ustvn (.us'to¯n) < .us'to¯r'm, Latin *usto¯rem*, accusative of *ustor* 'cremator.'

fravvmv (.fra¯wəmo), Latin **fera¯vimus* 'tulimus.' This form, by its loss of -e-, betrays the shift of stress spoken of above; compare also *θne*, p. 116. With *fravvmv*, compare *fvimv* under *letive*, page 117.

pici (.piki) < .pikim, Latin *picem*, accusative of *pix*, Lithuanian *pikis* 'pitch.' For the loss of -m, see *ia* above.

fust (.bust) < .bustom, Latin *bustum* 'place of cremation.' I regularly represent the Etruscan letter 8 by the conventional transcription *f*, but it is obvious that it here still has its original function of representing the labial stop .b . Pauli was mistaken in deriving the Etruscan 8 from the old

three-barred *h*. It is nothing but a cursive form of B , and got the value .f as old .bh became the labial fricative. In the inscription Gamurrini 804, the first two *f*'s are written 8 , the following three have the form B . For the loss of -om, see *ia*, page 15.

raneθ (.ran'ne⁻d < .ran'ye⁻d < .ranie⁻t) is the third singular future of Latin **ranio*, Greek *ῥαίνω* '(be)sprinkle.' The change of -t to -d is the same as in Oscan, Umbrian, and Latin; compare Old-Latin *sied*, *fhefhaked*, etc. But this -d is found only in very old Etruscan, for it early became silent (*tenue*, F. 2033 *bis*, E *a*) and in time a preceding short -e disappeared (*tenu*, F. 2070, III. 329). The ending of Latin *tenuit* is a reconstruction on the basis of the present, which has -t < -ti, cf. Etruscan *s'uθit* (.s'u(d)dit), Latin *subdit*, F. 2335. Corresponding to Latin *-it* (< -ed) and *-i⁻t* (< -eid), Sommers, page 618, Etruscan had *-ed* and *-e⁻d*: the former in *tenue(d)* (F. 2033, *bis*, E *a*), later *tenu* (F. 2070, III. 329), and in many other verbs, for example, (F. 2100): *eisne⁻v-c eprθne⁻v-c macstre⁻v-c*, Latin *aestuma⁻vit-que imperita⁻vit-que magistra⁻vit-que;* the latter in .ənnə'ke⁻ 'gave' (see page 113), and in *tetet* (.de'de⁻d, cf. *θriφtent*, page 121), with which contrast *telet* (.deled), page 119. The form *tetet* is found in F. 2753, an inscription that is usually classed as "mixed Oscan and Etruscan," but which is in reality pure Etruscan from beginning to end.* The only consideration that has led scholars to suppose that this inscription is not pure Etruscan is the fact that several words in it are obviously Indo-European, which was not compatible with the current doctrine that Etruscan is not Indo-European.

It will be observed that that part of our inscription that is numbered 2346 forms a sense-unit. What is numbered 2345 falls into two sense-units. If we write the text in this way, we get three metrical lines:—

'i⁻ĸa⁻mos 'ya⁻ trip'de⁻nt-ĸə 'pi⁻.
''m-duĸtit, 'no⁻o⁻nt 'aisar(o⁻) us'to⁻n;
'fra⁻wəmo 'piki, 'bust ran'ne⁻d.

'Let us strike up now, and let the devout ones dance the sacred dance.
Then lead forth, O Messenger of the Gods, the burner of the dead;
We have brought the pitch, he will sprinkle the place of burning.'

Each verse is a trochaic dimeter catalectic, with the substitution of a dactyl for the trochee in the first foot of the first dipody, less often of the second dipody. The meter is, of course, dynamic, that is, based on stress, not time.

*Fabretti made a strange blunder in reading the perfectly distinct *per aciam* as *aeraciam*, and others carelessly followed him.

Note on the Numerals

As there has been occasion to refer to the numerals, I may say that the correct order is that of Campanari :—

maχ	*θu*	*zal*	*huθ*	*ci*	*s'a*	*semφ*	*cezp-*	*muv-*	*mealχls*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Every form is a regular derivative from primitive Indo-European. The puzzling *zal* (.tsa⁻l) is from older **zar* (.tsa⁻r), which arose by metathesis (cf. English *three* but *third*) from .tsra⁻ < .tis(ə)'ra⁻, Avestan *tis'aro⁻*, Sanskrit *tisrás*, Old-Irish *teoir*, etc., 'three.' The Etruscan numerals were often feminine abstracts like Greek *οἴνη* 'the number one' and German *die Eins*. The older **zar* (.tsa⁻r) is reflected in *zaθrm* (.tsa⁻tr'm) < **zarθm* (.tsa⁻rt'm) 'thirty' < (.tis(ə)'ra⁻ 'three,' + .deĸ'm 'ten'). As in this word the .-ra⁻ became .-a⁻r by metathesis, the .d of .deĸ'm came to stand next to the .r, and thus .tsa⁻rdeĸ'm became .tsa⁻rdĸ'm > .tsa⁻rt'm > .tsa⁻tr'm, spelled *zaθrm*, *zaθrum*, etc. In other numerals, the final -a⁻ remained in position, and thus .-a⁻deĸ- became .-a⁻ləĸ (see page 121) > .-(a)lĸ- , spelled *-(a)lχ-*, etc. : *celc*, *cialχ-us'*, *cealχ-ls*, etc., all forms of the word for 'fifty'; *s'ialχ-v(e)is* 'sixty' (the analogy of the preceding *ci-* of the word for 'fifty' caused the substitution of *s'i-* for *s'a-* 'six,' which is from **zecsa* (.tseĸ'sa⁻), compare, with initial stress, *zecsans'l* (.tseĸsans'l) 'of a six-year-old,' Latin *sexennis*); etc. The tens usually appear in the adjective form, with the Indo-European adjective suffix *-we⁻s*, *-wents*, seen in Avestan *vi⁻saiti-vant-* 'twenty-fold' and in Greek τετρᾶς, *-ᾶντος*, etc. (Brugmann, II. §182, 2, II². §356). This *-we⁻s* appears as *-veis* and *-vis* (*ei* and *i* = close e⁻) on the Lemnos Stone (*s'ialχ-veis*, *-vis*); as *-us* (.os < .wes < .we⁻s, cf. Latin *soror* < .sweso⁻r) in the Mummy Ms. (*cealχ-us* etc.); and as *-'ls* (a dull syllabic l + s) in Italian Etruscan (*cealχ-ls* etc.). In Southern Etruria the final *-s* of this adjective suffix passed by analogy to the numbers below *mealχls* 'ten' when these were used as adjectives : thus *maχs*, *huθs*, etc., by the side of the *maχ*, *huθ*, etc., found on the dice. This *-s* has been mistaken by some scholars for an inflectional ending, and has been used as shot to fire at the "Indo-Germanites" (Skutsch, Pauly-Wissowa, 805-47).

ORIGIN OF THE LEGEND OF FLOIRE AND BLANCHEFLOR[1]

OLIVER MARTIN JOHNSTON

FELIX, king of Spain, while invading a Christian land, attacks some pilgrims going to Saint James of Compostella. Among the pilgrims are a knight and his daughter who, after the death of her husband, had consecrated herself to the apostle Saint James. In the battle that follows the knight perishes and the daughter is taken captive to Naples, where she becomes the confidant and friend of the queen. Some months later a son is born to the queen and a daughter to the Christian captive. The children are born *le jor de la Pasque-florie* and in honor of this festival they are called Floire and Blancheflor. They grow up together and love each other tenderly. However, the king seeing that his son loves the Christian slave resolves to have her slain as soon as possible. The queen opposes this plan and they finally decide to send Floire to Mantoire, promising him that Blancheflor will join him soon. Floire goes away sad and at the end of a week begins to grieve and refuses to eat. As soon as the king learns the result of the separation of the two lovers he proposes again to have the young girl slain. However, the queen still refuses to give her consent and suggests that it would be better to sell her to some merchants going to Babylon and then build a tomb in order to make Floire believe she was dead. When Floire sees the tomb[1] he is so filled with sorrow and despair that he decides to kill himself with a *grafe d'argent* which Blancheflor had given him. His mother prevents him from doing so, however, and informs the king of this new danger. Floire then learns that Blancheflor has been sold as a slave and sets out in search of her. By chance, he always stops at the hotels where Blancheflor had been and the innkeepers noticing the resemblance between him and Blancheflor give him the necessary information. He finally reaches Babylon, where the *pontonnier* Daires suggests the means by which he is able to enter the sultan's castle. After gaining the good-will of the guardian by playing chess with him Floire makes known to him the aim of his journey. Then with the aid of the gatekeeper he is concealed in a basket of flowers and carried into the castle

[1] The following is an abstract of the first of the two Old French poems on Floire and Blancheflor published by Du Méril and will be referred to in this study as French I.

where he finds Blancheflor. When the sultan discovers him, both he and Blancheflor are condemned to death. However, they are later pardoned and, after their marriage, return to Spain.

I. Theories Regarding the Origin of the Legend.

1. The theory that our legend originated in southern France[2] seems to have nothing to support it except the fact that there are seventeen[3] references to Floire and Blancheflor in Provençal literature.

2. Sommer[4] saw in our legend a Germanic myth. The love of Floire and Blancheflor who are still children reminded him of the stories of the elves who always remain children (small beings).

3. Paulin Paris[5] and Wehrle[6] suggested that the legend of Floire and Blancheflor was of Spanish origin. Against this theory Gaston Paris offered the following objections.[7] In the first place, he says that when we consider the condition of Spanish poetry about the middle of the twelfth century, the date of the first references to Floire and Blancheflor in French and Provençal, we cannot believe that our legend passed from Spanish to the other literatures of Europe. The fact that a part of the story is represented as taking place in Spain does not mean anything. A pilgrimage to Saint James and the invasion of a Saracen king are motifs that are found elsewhere. Furthermore, the name *Flores* in the Spanish version must come from a French nominative.

4. In 1856 Du Méril published both of the Old French versions of the legend of Floire and Blancheflor and in an introduction of 258 pages discussed at length the origin of the story. He called attention to the large number of Greek elements in the Old French versions and came to the conclusion that the legend is of Byzantian origin. Although he was unable to find any Greek story from which our poem could have been derived, his theory was accepted by scholars for almost fifty years after the appearance of his edition.

5. Professor Italo Pizzi,[8] in an article published in 1892, expressed the opinion that Persia is the home of our legend. His theory is based

[2] See Crescini, *Il Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore,* I, p. 3 ff; Joachim Reinhold, *Floire et Blancheflor,* Paris, 1906, p. 120.

[3] See Reinhold, *op. cit.,* p. 9; Fauriel, *Histoire de la Poésie Provençale,* Paris, 1846, pp. 459-60.

[4] See Reinhold, *op. cit.,* pp. 120-1.

[5] See *Blume und Weissblume,* Freiburg, 1856, p. xlii ff.

[6] See *Romancero français,* Paris, 1833, p. 55.

[7] See *Romania,* XXVIII, 445-6.

[8] See *Memorie della reale academia delle scienze di Torino.* Serie seconda, vol. XLII, pp. 265-6.

on the following points of resemblance between the legend of Floire and Blancheflor and the Persian stories compared: (1) The story of two children brought up together, loving each other passionately, and finally separated because of the resistance of the father, in Assar's *Mihr and Mouchter* and in Djami's *Selânân and Absaâl;* (2) the fictitious funeral of a young girl in *Houmây and Houmâyoûn;* (3) in a poem of Firdusi the daughter of the Persian king allows her lover to be brought to her asleep and concealed in a chest (or on a litter).

With reference to the first of the three points of resemblance mentioned by Pizzi it may be said that the love of two children brought up together, their separation, and the journey of one in search of the other are motifs that are well known in Greek and Arabic literature. These motifs would, therefore, hardly be sufficient to prove that our legend is of Persian origin.

Regarding the fictitious funeral of the young girl Reinhold says:[9] "Pourtant dans le roman perse ce ne sont pas les parents qui veulent tromper leur fils pour l'empêcher d'aimer la jeune fille, mais le père de sa bien-aimée, empereur de Chine, "célèbre" les funérailles de sa fille. Il n'y a pas question d'um tombeau élevé pour tromper le jeune homme." The fictitious tomb is also found in Apollonius of Tyre.[10]

The third analogy suggested by Pizzi is also weakened by the fact that this motif[11] is found elsewhere. With reference to the basket of flowers in which Floire is concealed Reinhold says[12]:"Il existe un conte arabe où l'amant se fait cacher dans une *caisse* remplie de marchandises pour arriver au même but. Je crois que la ressemblance entre ces deus motifs n'est pas plus grande que celle qui existe entre cette corbeille et les tonneaus dans lesquels se cachent les compagnons de Guillaume.[13] Ce qui est surtout très probable, c'est que le prototype de tous ces trois motifs se trouve être le cheval de Troie. On sait qu'à cette époque les usages, les rapports, les expressions de la vie féodale sont appliquées aus relations entre le chevalier dont il se reconnaît fidèle vassal; rien d'étonnant alors que les ruses de guerre elles aussi, deviennent chez les romanciers des ruses d'amour, grâce ausquelles le héros pénètre sinon dans la ville ennemie, au moins dans la chambre de son amie. L' *Énéide* où nous trouvons le cheval de bois, fut traduite vers 1160, *Fl. et Bl.* est composé vers le même temps puisqu'il est célèbre en Allemagne déjà vers

[9] See *op. cit.*, p. 126, note 3.
[10] See *Revue de philologie française*, XIX, pp. 158-9.
[11] See *Romania*, XXVIII, 355.
[12] See *Revue de philologie française*, XIX, pp. 169-170.
[13] See *Charroi de Nîmes*, p. 98, v. 940 ff.

1173. Que le poète ait puisé ce motif dans l' *Enéas* ou dans le *Charroi de Nîmes* peu importe, toujours est-il que notre auteur l'embellit et que sous l'influence, peut-être des noms de Floire et Blanchefleur dont les racines évoquent des fleurs—il le rent si poétique."

6. In 1897 Ten Brink[14] compared the legend of Floire and Blancheflor with three Arabic stories and two years later Huet set forth more fully the Arabic theory in an article published in the *Romania*.[15] The Arabic origin of our legend was accepted by Gaston Paris,[16] Suchier and Basset. As it is my purpose to discuss this theory at length later on it will not be necessary to examine the Arabic stories in detail here.

7. The latest attempt to trace the sources of our poem was by Joachim Reinhold. In his thesis on *Floire et Blancheflor,* published at Paris in 1906, he tried to prove that the legend of Floire and Blancheflor is based on the story of Cupid and Psyche by Apuleius[17] and that the idea of the harem was suggested to our poet by the book of Esther.

Concerning this theory Huet says:[18] "Je crois qu'il faut faire les plus expresses réserves sur les rapprochements avec la *Psyché* d'Apulée; il est fort peu probable qu'on ait connu, en France, au XII[e] siècle le roman de *métamorphoses* dont Psyché fait partie." In his review of Reinhold's thesis Lucien Lécureux also says:[19] "M. Huet a raison de douter que le roman d'Aupulée ait été connu en France au XII[e] siècle. D'ailleurs, la ressemblance entre les deux textes consisterait simplement en ceci que, dans l'un et l'autre cas, l'amante (Blancheflor, Psyché), de condition inférieure à celle de l'amant (le prince Floire, le dieu Cupidon), est persécutée par les parents de l'amant (le roi Félis et sa femme, la déesse Vénus) qui veulent empêcher une union disproportionnée. On pourrait souhaiter une ressemblance plus évidente."

Another argument against Reinhold's theory is the fact that the French folk traditions that are related to the story of Cupid and Psyche show none of the motifs of *Floire et Blancheflor*. In any imitation of Cupid and Psyche we should expect to find motifs like (1) the story of the young girl in the palace of the mysterious being to whom she has been delivered, (2) the prohibition with reference to the secret of her new life, (3) her disobedience, and (4) the sudden disappearance of her lover. The fact that traces of the motifs just mentioned are found in three

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[14] See Reinhold, *Floire et Blancheflor,* p. 127.
[15] Vol. XXVIII, 348-359.
[16] See Reinhold, *Floire et Blancheflor,* p. 128.
[17] See *Metam.* IV, 28. VI, 24.
[18] See *Romania,* XXXV, p. 99, note 3.
[19] See *Romania,* XXXVII, 313.

groups of stories (altered versions of Cupid and Psyche) collected in Lorraine [20] and not found in *Floire et Blancheflor* naturally leads one to believe that the story of Cupid and Psyche was not the source of our poem as Reinhold supposes.

A reworking of this subject has led me to the conclusion that in the composition of the Old French poem on Floire and Blancheflor two legends have been combined. The first part of the poem was probably based on the story used by the author of *Aucassin et Nicolette*. The relation of *Aucassin et Nicolette* to *Floire et Blancheflor* has been the subject of considerable discussion. According to Brunner,[21] Paris,[22] and Suchier,[23] the legend of Floire and Blancheflor was the source of *Aucassin et Nicolette*. On the other hand, Crescini[24] and Reinhold[25] think the two stories are independent.

The story of Aucassin and Nicolette is in brief as follows. Aucassin is the son of Count Garin of Beaucaire and Nicolette is a slave girl brought from a foreign land. The two children grow up together and love each other passionately. The father of Aucassin is opposed to the marriage, however, on the ground that Nicolette is not of noble birth: "De cé (Nicolette) n'as que faire, et se tu femme vix avoir, je te donrai le file a un roi u a un conte" (2. 32). "Puisqu'a moullier te vix traire, pren feme de haut parage!" (3, 11). The opposition of the father leads to the imprisonment of the two lovers:

> "Nicole est en prison mise,
> en une canbre vautie (5, 1).
> Quant or voit li quens Garins
> de son enfant Aucassin
> qu'il ne porra departir
> de Nicolete au cler vis,
> en une prison l'a mis,
> en un celier sosterin" (11, 1).

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[20] See E. Cosquin, *Romania*, X, 117-126.

[21] *Über Aucassin und Nicolete*, Halle A. S. 1880, pp. 6-18.

[22] *Romania*, VIII, 291.

[23] *Aucassin und Nicolete*. Dritte Auflage. Parderborn, 1889, p. VII. In this connection compare Reinhold, *op. cit.*, p. 50: "il (Herzog) adopte l'opinion de Kölbing et celle de Brunner que la *Reinalds—rimur et Aucassin et Nicolete* remontent chacun de son côté, à des versions perdues de notre légende."

[24] *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 1884, p. 257, note 2.

[25] See *op. cit.*, p. 94. With reference to the relation of *Aucassin et Nicolette* to *Floire et Blancheflor* Du Méril (*op. cit.*, p. CXCIV) says: "Ce n'est pas cependant, ainsi qu'on pourrait le croire d'après ces ressemblances, ume seconde version du même sujet, mais une histoire réellement différente."

As soon as they are out of prison Aucassin goes in search of his love, whom he finds in a bower that she had made and which she had lined within and without with flowers and leaves. After this adventure they remain together until the castle of Torlore (where they had taken refuge) was captured by the Saracens, whereupon he was cast into one ship and she into another. The ships being separated by a storm, Aucassin finally reaches Beaucaire and Nicolette returns to Carthage where she had been stolen when a child. Disguised as a harper she then goes to seek Aucassin. "Et Nicolete issi fors si prist se viële si ala viëlant par le païs, tant qu'ele vint au castel de Biaucaire la u Aucassins estoit" (38, 22). This charming story of love ends with the marriage of the lovers.

"Or a sa joie Aucasins
Et Nicholete autresi."

The resemblances between *Floire et Blancheflor* and *Aucassin et Nicolette* may be stated as follows:

1. Two children grow up together.
2. They love each other passionately.
3. Floire and Aucassin are of noble birth, while Blancheflor and Nicolette are slaves.
4. This difference in social rank causes the father of Floire and Aucassin to oppose the marriage.
5. The opposition of the father leads to the separation of the two lovers.

The author of *Floire et Blancheflor* and the author of *Aucassin et Nicolette* probably worked from a common source up to this point. In *Floire et Blancheflor,* however, the original story has been expanded and new traditions have been added. For instance, in *Aucassin et Nicolette,* which seems to represent an older and simpler form of the legend, the two children are born at different places and live in different houses, even after Nicolette was taken to Beaucaire, the home of Aucassin. On the other hand, Floire and Blancheflor are not only born at the same time and place and live in the same home, but they also resemble each other:

"Car en un biau jor furent né
Et en une nuit engendré (I, 21-2).
El vous resamble en moie foi:
Bien poëz estre d'un éage;
Si vous ressamble du visage" (I, 1084-6).

This resemblance motif is doubtless a folk tradition growing out of the

resemblance between the names of the hero and the heroine. Their names being similar it was easy for the popular mind to imagine a corresponding resemblance in age, personal appearance, and in other matters pertaining to their lives. With reference to a similar idea in *Amis et Amiles* Lucien Lécureux says:[26] "Il existe certainement une ressemblance entre *Floire et Blanchefleur* d' une part et *Amis et Amiles* d'autre part. Les deux amants comme les deux amis sont nés 'en un jor' et 'en une nuit engendrés.' Ils ont presque le même nom, ils se ressemblent, et, quand Floire cherche Blanchefleur à travers le monde, comme Amis cherchait Amiles, c'est cette ressemblance qui permet aux divers hôteliers chez qui il descend, de lui indiquer la personne qu'il cherche, comme une ressemblance analogue permettait à un pélerin, puis à un berger de renseigner successivement Amis et Amiles."

The description of the social condition of Nicolette is also very brief. The author merely states that she was stolen when a child from her home in Carthage and sold as a slave to the Viscount of Beaucaire. On the other hand, the author of *Floire et Blancheflor* gives an elaborate description of a pilgrimage during which the mother of Blancheflor is captured by the Saracens and taken to Naples:

> "Es-vos le roi en la cité;
> Son barnage a tres-tout mandé:
> Son eschec lor depart li rois,
> Bien largement, comme cortois,
> Et por sa part, a la reïne
> Done de gaaing la meschine" (I, 127-132).

With reference to the pilgrimage and the invasion here described Gaston Paris says:[27] "Un pèlerinage à Saint-Jacques était un cadre naturel pour une aventure du genre de celle, qui arrive à la mère de Blanchefleur et l'invasion d'un roi sarrasin d'Espagne en Galice était aussi un motif connu."[28]

In the account of the father's resistance and the separation of the two lovers the author of *Floire et Blancheflor,* while following in the main the original story, describes the scene more in detail and also introduces another tradition.

[26] See *Romania,* XXXVII, 313.

[27] "Nous retrouvons ce motif par exemple dans le beau *Dit des annelets* (Jubinal, *Nouv. Rec.,* t. I, p. 1), et avec moins d'importance, dans divers romans d'aventure" (Paris, *Romania,* XXVIII, 446).

[28] "C'est le sujet d'un des derniers chapitres du faux Turpin, souvent traduit en français" (Paris, *Romania,* XXVIII, 446).

Aucassin et Nicolette	*Floire et Blancheflor*
1. The father tells Aucassin that if he will take arms and defend the castle of Beaucaire, he will permit him to see Nicolette. The promise is broken.	1. The father sends Floire to Montoire with the promise that Blancheflor will soon follow. The promise is broken.
2. The father of Aucassin threatens to burn Nicolette: "Et saćiés bien que, se je le puis avoir, que je l'arderai en un fu" (4, 8).	2. The father of Floire threatens to slay Blancheflor: "Faites la moi tost demander, Ja li ferai le chief couper" (I, 398-9).
3. When the Viscount finds that Aucassin's father is opposed to the marriage he proposes to send Nicolette to a foreign land: "Je l'envoierai en tel tere et en tel païs, que ja mais ne le verra de ses ex" (4, 15).	3. Blancheflor is sold to some merchants who take her to Babylon.
4. Aucassin and Nicolette are imprisoned.	4. In order to make Floire believe that Blancheflor is dead a tomb is erected to her.
5. "Et puis que vos ariiés jut en lit a home s'el mien non, or ne quidiés mie que j'atendisse tant que je trovasse coutel dont je me peüsçe ferir el cuer et oćirre. Naie voir, tant n'atenderoie je mie, ains m'esquelderoie de si lonc, que je verroie une maisiere u une bisse pierre, s'i hurteroie si durement me teste, que j'en feroie les ex voler, et que je m'esćerveleroie tos" (14, 6-12).	5. Floire decides to kill himself with a *grafe d'argent* that Blancheflor had given him (I, 785-848).

In 1, 2, 3, and 5 the author of *Floire et Blancheflor* has preserved something of the original legend, while 4 is entirely different. Reinhold thinks that the idea of the false tomb may have been suggested to our poet by a similar device in Apollonius of Tyre.[29] After citing several parallel passages[30] he says:[31] "Il y a d'autant plus d'analogie entre notre récit et celui de "Fl. et Bl." que, dans les deus poèmes, c'est la femme qui conseille à son mari de bâtir un tombeau."

We have seen that the motifs of *Aucassin et Nicolette* and those of

[29] See *Historia Apolloni regis Tyri*, pub. by A. Riese, 2nd edition, p. 63 ff. and 75 ff. (Teubner.)

[30] *Revue de philologie française*, XIX, pp. 158-159.

[31] See *op. cit.*, p. 159.

Floire et Blancheflor are similar up to the time that the two lovers are separated. The search and reunion of the lovers are, however, entirely different in the two poems. Aucassin and Nicolette meet first in a bower and after various adventures are separated again. Disguised as a harper Nicolette then searches until she finds Aucassin at Beaucaire. On the other hand Floire travels over land and sea until he finds Blancheflor in a harem at Babylon. The difference in the search motif in these two legends is doubtless due to the fact that the author of *Floire et Blacheflor* used two stories in the composition of his poem. He knew the legend contained in *Aucassin et Nicolette,* where one lover goes in search of the other, and he also knew an Arabic tale according to which a young man goes to seek his love and finally finds her in a harem. Whether these two tales were combined by the author of *Floire et Blancheflor* or by the one from whom he received the story, it makes little difference. In any case, the fusion of the two legends is a natural development, since it merely involves the substitution of the search motif found in the Arabic story for the one contained in the source of *Aucassin et Nicolette.*

The purpose of the foregoing comparison is twofold. In the first place, it shows beyond any reasonable doubt that the legend contained in *Aucassin et Nicolette* is the same as that found in the first part of *Floire et Blancheflor.* The principal motifs are certainly similar in both versions and the slight differences can be easily explained as additions to the original story. In my opinion, Gaston Paris was right when he said:[32] "En effet, Floire et Blancheflor d'un côté, Aucassin et Nicolette de l'autre, sont sans doute les représentants du même couple amoureux."

In the second place, this comparison leads one to believe that *Floire et Blancheflor* was not the source of *Aucassin et Nicolette* as Brunner, Suchier, and Paris supposed, but that both have a common source for the part of the legend preceding and including the separation of the two lovers. If we should accept the theory of the scholars just mentioned, it would be difficult to explain why the author of *Aucassin et Nicolette* rejected so many things found in his source. One can hardly understand why he should have omitted entirely important points like the pilgrimage to Saint James, the invasion of a Saracen king, the fictitious tomb, the long journey to Babylon, and the harem episode. We should at least expect to find some trace of these motifs in any direct imitation of *Floire et Blancheflor.* Even in the portion of the two poems where the agreement is evident the differences are too important to permit us to

[32] See Beda, *op. cit.,* p. xx.

suppose a direct borrowing. Moreover, at least two thirds of *Floire et Blancheflor* seems to have been entirely unknown to the author of *Aucassin et Nicolette*. The *dénouement* of *Aucassin et Nicolette* as well as that of *Florent et Clarisse*,[33] a later version of the same legend, point to the fact that in the source of *Aucassin et Nicolette* the young man does not go to a distant land to seek his love as in the case of Floire and Blancheflor. Florent finds Clarisse in a forest, a short distance from the place where they had been imprisoned, and it will be remembered that the first meeting of Aucassin and Nicolette after their separation was in a bower *u aforkent set cemin*. With reference to the episode where Nicolette disguised as a harper goes in search of Aucassin, Gaston Paris says:[33a] "Il est emprunté au beau poëme de *Beuve d'Hanstone*, où Josiane s'habille en *jongleresse* et retrouve aussi son amant en lui chantant ses propres aventures." It is very probable, therefore, that in the source of *Aucassin et Nicolette* the young man finds his love in a forest, not far from the place where they had been imprisoned and for this search motif the author of *Floire et Blancheflor* substituted the journey to an Arabic harem.

Let us now examine some of the traditions connected with Arabic harems and see if they furnish the motifs for the second part of *Floire et Blancheflor*. The Arabic stories analyzed in this study have already been cited by Huet[34] and the resemblances between them and our legend have been pointed out by him.

The historian Ibn-al-Djauzi[35] relates the story of a young merchant of Bagdad who falls in love with a young girl who comes to make purchases of him and later finds that she is the favorite slave of the mother of the Caliph al-Moqtadir, who had sent her to buy some cloth. The young slave also loves the merchant and informs him that her mistress would be willing to emancipate her and marry her to the man of her choice provided she could see him and be convinced that he was well-bred. The young merchant is concealed in a chest which is supposed to contain the cloth that the slave had just purchased and carried into the harem, where he is presented to the mother of the Caliph, who then gives her consent to the marriage.

In another story a young money changer of Bagdad is in love with a slave sent to make purchases for the harem of Caliph Motawakkil. The young man remains near the door of the harem and gives presents

[33] In *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie*. Veroffentlicht von E. Stengel. Vol. LXXXIII.

[33a] Preface to Bida's translation of *Aucassin et Nicolette*, p. xxi.

[34] See *Romania*, XXVIII, 348-359; XXXV, 95-100.

[35] See *Romania*, XXVIII, 355.

to different persons of the court, among others to a porter and a eunuch. The latter makes it possible for him to enter the harem each night wearing a costume similar to that of the Caliph. Suddenly, however, he sees the real Caliph coming, loses his head, and goes to the wrong door. Fortunately the young girl who lives in the room where he enters is the sister of the one he loves and is informed regarding the matter. She conceals him and goes in search of her sister who arrives after appearing somewhat obstinate as in the case of Blancheflor. The young man enters the room and later when he wishes to leave the palace, disguised as a woman, he is recognized. However, the Caliph pardons him and permits him to marry the beautiful slave.[36]

According to another Arabic story a merchant of Coufa purchases at the slave market a woman who has a daughter the same age as his son. The two children grow up together and love each other passionately, to the great satisfaction of the merchant, who proposes to marry his son to the companion of his childhood. The evening before the marriage, however, the governor Haddjadj passing along the street hears the slave singing beautifully in a garden belonging to the merchant. Haddjadj has her kidnapped and offers her to the Caliph of Damas for his harem. The young man is inconsolable and at once becomes seriously ill. A physician discovers the cause of his sickness and proposes to go with him in search of the slave. They set out and arrive first at Alep, then at Damas, where the young man disguised as a woman succeeds in entering the harem. As in the preceding story, however, he goes to the wrong door and enters the apartment of the Caliph's sister, who informs her brother. Moved by the story of his sister the Caliph then allows the two lovers to depart.[37]

In order to prove that the harem in *Floire et Blancheflor* is of Arabic origin it is not enough to show that the French description agrees in all important points with the Arabic stories given above, but they must also agree in minor points and details. We have already seen that the theme of a young man entering a harem in search of a slave that he loves is found in both cases. Now let us see if the details are of such a character as to convince us that the French description is beyond doubt of Arabic origin. If the Arabic theory is correct, the material on which it is based should not only furnish the principal motifs of our legend, but it should also explain customs and geographical references that would otherwise remain obscure. With this point in mind let us see what light the Arabic stories already given shed upon the following problems in *Floire et Blancheflor*:

[36] See *Romania,* XXVIII, 355-6.
[37] See *Romania,* XXVIII, 356.

1. The *tor as puceles* shows the characteristics of an Arabic harem. In this connection Huet says:[38] "La tour contient 140 chambres, chaque chambre renfermant une jeune fille (I, v. 1644, 1660). Ces jeunes filles, exclues de toute communication avec le dehors, peuvent cependant se voir entre elles, puisque Blanchefleur a pu lier connaissance avec Claris et que Claris va l'appeler. Chaque matin, à tour de rôle, deux jeunes filles vont servir l'amirant à son lever (I, v. 1678 s.):

Trestoutes celes qui i sont
Dous a dous son service font,
Iceles dous que il eslit,
A son lever et a son lit;
L'une sert de l'eve doner
Et la touaille tient son per.

Ces détails, dégagés du fantastique auquel ils sont mêlés, sont simplement la description d'un harem de khalife ou de sultan arabe; on les retrouve dans les *Mille et une Nuits*. Les eunuques armés, comme gardiens de harem, se retrouvent dans le conte du *Cheval de bois d'ébène* (traduction de Burton, édition de 1885, V, 8) et dans le conte de *Schemselnihar* (1001 *Nuits*, trad. Galland, édit. Panthéon littér., p. 245, Burton, III, 171). Les odalisques qui assistent au lever du khalife se retrouvent dans le conte du *Dormeur éveillé* (*ibid.*, p. 444). Je ferai remarquer que ce détail est essentiel, puisqu'il amène la catastrophe. Un autre détail, encore plus essentiel pour la marche du récit, est que chaque jeune fille a sa propre chambre: Burton qui connaissait si bien les moeurs orientales, signale ce trait comme une chose habituelle dans une note de sa traduction des *Mille et une Nuits*: *nota the different rooms, each "odalisque" or concubine having her own*" (I, 286, note 1).

2. When Floire is found in the sultan's castle, he is thought to be a woman:

"Mes cambrelens por li ala;
Un jovencel o li trova
Dormant, cuida que fust pucele."
(Cf. Immanuel Bekker's edit. vv. 2733-5).[39]

[38] *Romania*, XXVIII, 350.

[39] See also Du Méril's edition, I, vv. 2387-92:

Au chambrelenc dist: "Les poitrines
Me descoevre des deus meschines:
Lor mameles primes verrons,
Et puis si les esveillerons."
Cil les descoevre; s'aparut
Que cil est hom qui illuec jut.

This is doubtless a survival of the Arabic tradition according to which the lover enters the harem disguised as a woman. It will be remembered that in two of the Arabic stories given above the young man is dressed like a woman.

3. In French I and in the versions depending on it Gloris[40] is the companion and equal of Blancheflor. This idea of equality in the oriental harem[41] was, however, unknown in the west and hence the Greek and Spanish versions and the *Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore* make Gloris a servant of Blancheflor.[42]

4. How are we to explain the fact that in all the versions of *Floire et Blancheflor* the basket of flowers containing Floire is always carried to Gloris' door by mistake? Does this incident not find its explanation in the two Arabic stories already cited, where the young man in search of the beautiful slave goes to the door of the Caliph's sister by mistake? It will be remembered also that the slave shows the same obstinancy as Blancheflor when informed that her lover is in the harem.

5. Geographical references in our poem also support the Arabic theory. The harem in French I is connected with the Babylon of Asia:

> "De l'autre part, coum'est a vis,
> Court uns flueves de paradis,
> Qui Eufrates est apelés."
> (vv. 1747-49.)

The substitution of the Babylon of Egypt in the later versions of the legend shows that the inhabitants of Europe in the twelfth century were not familiar with the Babylon of Asia. Hence the description of the Babylon of Asia in French I doubtless came from the East. In this connection Gaston Paris says:[43] "La description de Babylone, telle qu'elle est dans I, c'est-à-dire de Babylone d'Asie, paraît remonter à des sources anciennes, tandis que la substitution de Babylon d'Égypte, seule connue au moyen âge, est sans doute un trait plus moderne."

Our poem also contains a reference to Baudas, situated a short distance from Babylon. The name Baudas, however, is probably derived from Bagdad.

My objection to the Arabic theory as set forth by Huet is that it claims too much. While the stories cited by him explain the second part of *Floire et Blancheflor*, they do not seem to shed any light on the source

[40] See vv. 2099-2104.
[41] See *Romania*, XXVIII, 350.
[42] See Huet, *Romania*, XXVIII, 352-3.
[43] *Romania*, XXVIII, 443-4.

of the first part of the poem. Reinhold called attention to the weak point in the oriental theory when he said:[44] "Donc la première moitié du poème français, notamment l'expédition du roi Félis pour piller les pelerins, la naissance de deus enfants et leur séjour commun à l'école, l'amour du héros pour la jeune fille si gracieusement décrit, la résistance du père, laquelle a pour suite la vente de l'héroïne et toutes les aventures postérieures, tous ces traits ne peuvent que contredire la théorie orientale. Il est difficile d'imaginer notre roman sans cela. Si l'on écarte les motifs que je viens d'énumérer, nous aurons un autre récit, mais ce ne sera plus *Floire et Blanchefleur.*"

If my conclusions be correct, the kernel of the legend of Floire and Blancheflor is the story of two children (the son of a king and a slave girl) who grow up together and love each other tenderly. The father of the hero opposes the marriage because of the inferior rank of the heroine and the opposition of the father leads to the separation of the two lovers. This widely known theme is the basis of both *Floire et Blancheflor* and *Aucassin et Nicolette* and the differences between the two poems are doubtless due to the difference in the temperament and purpose of the authors and also to the fact that one was familiar with traditions that were unknown to the other. In addition to the legend contained in the source of *Aucassin et Nicolette,* the author of *Floire et Blancheflor* knew and used an Arabic tradition according to which a young man enters a harem in search of his love.

[44] See *Revue de philologie française,* XIX, 162.

ARATUS AND THEOCRITUS

Augustus Taber Murray

It is the purpose of the present paper to open once more the question of the identity of the Aratus mentioned in Theocritus VI and VII, and to give the reasons why, despite its rejection by almost all Theocritean scholars, the old view that we have here to do with the poet, Aratus of Soli, seems to me, after all correct.

That the two men were one and the same is stated, though tentatively, by the writer of the hypothesis to Idyl VI (*δύναται οὗτος εἶναι ὁ τῶν Φαινομένων ποιητής*) and by the scholiasts on Idyl VI. 2, although no argument is advanced, save the fact that this Aratus was a contemporary of Theocritus; and the possibility is hinted at that we may perhaps have to do with another individual bearing the same name. Such statements in scholia and hypotheses of course prove no more than this: that to the unknown writer, as to us, the identification with the well-known Aratus seems at first sight at least plausible. It is surely natural that any one having no bias in favor of a different view, finding an Aratus mentioned by Theocritus as his friend, and knowing that the author of the *Phaenomena* was a contemporary of Theocritus, should assume that he was the Aratus in question. The plausibleness of this view led to its tacit or expressed adoption by all scholars without, so far as I know, a single dissenting voice, until von Wilamowitz published his paper, *Aratos von Kos* (*Nachrichten von der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,* Philologisch-historische Klasse, 1894, No. 2). In this he denied that any grounds exist for the acceptance of the older view, and maintained that the Aratus mentioned by Theocritus is some, otherwise unknown, Coan, who had entertained Theocritus during his stay in Cos, and had become his close friend.

Since the appearance of that paper practically all Theocritean scholars have, with singular unanimity, given up their previous opinions. and accepted the conclusions of von Wilamowitz as completely established. Susemihl, for example, who in his *Griechische Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit* had based many deductions upon the assumed presence of Aratus in Cos at the time of the (hypothetical) bucolic school gathered round Philetas, relinquishes this position absolutely in an article in the *Jahrbücher* for 1896, entitled, *Zur Alexandrinischen Litteraturgeschichte*. He there writes of the demolishing of the older view as follows (p. 392):

"Das hat wenigstens für mich überzeugend W. nachgewiesen, und wir müssen es ihm danken, dasz er uns von einem folgenschweren irrtum befreit hat, so schmerzlich es auch ist wiederum einen der wenigen stützpunkte für die herstellung des chronologischen knochengerüstes der alexandrinischen litteraturgeschichte zu verlieren." Again he writes (*ibid.* p. 393): "In Kos kann er (*i. e.*, Aratus) seine Φαινόμενα nicht gedichtet haben, wenn er eben nie dort war." (Note that one great difficulty in accepting the identification of the Aratus of Theocritus with the poet of Soli, was that it was assumed to bring with it the necessity of accepting also the belief in a stay in Cos on the part of Aratus in the years preceding the death of Philetas. That this, however, is not the case will appear in the course of this paper.)

Geffcken, again (*Leonidas von Tarent,* p. 134, n. 2) writes: "Mit dem groszen Dichterbund ist die Sache doch etwas zweifelhaft geworden, seit wir wissen, dasz Arat mit Theokrit nicht auf Kos zusammen war." Note the emphatic statement, "wir wissen." Similarly Cholmeley (*Theocritus,* Introd. p. 16 f.): "The identification is in the highest degree improbable, and beyond the coincidence of name has nothing to support it." Again Wendel (*De Nominibus Bucolicis,* p. 11), after supporting the common view that the Sicelidas of Theocritus VII is to be identified with Asclepiades, continues: "Contra Aratum Thalysiorum diversum esse a poeta Solensi Wilamowitzius optimis argumentis demonstravit." Knaack also, in his article on Aratos in the Pauly-Wissowa *Real-encyclopädie,* takes a similar position, and devotes a separate article to the hypothetical Aratos von Kos; and the same position is vigorously defended by Rannow in his review of Christ's *Ueberlieferte Auswahl Theokritischer Gedichte* in the *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1894, col. 968f. Legrand (*Théocrite,* p. 43) is less ready to relinquish the identification, but makes the following admission: "Dans un article encore plus récent M. de Wilamowitz a fait voir combien il est peu sûr que l'Aratus de la septième idylle soit le poète auteur des Phénomènes."

It may seem somewhat rash, in the face of this all but universal agreement among scholars, to maintain that the older view is nevertheless correct; but, while demonstration is out of the question, I think the probabilities are strongly in its favor. This position has been taken by Christ (*Ueberlieferte Auswahl,* p. 20), but he relies upon intrinsic probabilities rather than upon detailed proofs, and such proofs as he does advance are met by Rannow in his review, and quite demolished by von Wilamowitz himself (*Hermes* 1905, p. 139f.). Nevertheless the matter seems to me deserving of a new consideration.

We start with this fact: Aratus' poem, whether written at the

Macedonian court, or at Athens, before the poet went to Macedonia, was certainly published before the literary circle, which the king, Antigonus Gonatas, had gathered around him, was broken up by the return of Pyrrhus from Italy in 274. This is incontestable. By 274 the *Phaenomena* had been published, and Aratus' fame was immediately established. Therefore by the time Theocritus wrote as he does of a friend of his named Aratus (he calls him ξένος in VII 119, and in vs. 98 has, Ὦρατος δ' ὁ τὰ πάντα φιλαίτατος ἀνέρι τήνῳ), Aratus, the poet, was already famous, so that the general reader would inevitably think of him. This is to be borne in mind, although it may of course be said that Theocritus wrote for his own circle of friends, rather than for the general public. Moreover the name, Aratus, appears to have been a common one in Cos (Hicks-Paton, *Inscriptions of Cos*). As to the fact that Idyl VI is addressed to a certain Aratus, we can only say that the Aratus in question was certainly a personal friend of Theocritus; if this fact can be established for the poet of Soli, then we should more naturally think of him than of some unknown Coan, although we must regard it as established that there were presumably many worthy individuals in Cos who bore that name, and to whom Theocritus might with perfect propriety and naturalness have dedicated a poem. As to the date of Idyl VI nothing certain can be said, though it is generally put relatively late; Idyl VII is unquestionably one of the later ones.

Our second fact is this: the seventeenth Idyl of Theocritus opens with the opening words of Aratus' *Phaenomena* Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα. This is important, despite the parallel passages which can be adduced from earlier writers, and the fact that the words form what may be called a commonplace of hieratic poetry. If a poet publishes a work whereby he becomes famous, and which opens with a certain phrase, and *in the years immediately following* another poet (and a poet who had, as we know from other sources, a friend named Aratus) chooses precisely that phrase for the opening of a poem of his, the coincidence is not due to chance. Ἀρατείᾳ δὲ κέχρηται εἰσβολῇ, says the writer of the hypothesis; and with this all must agree, even if it be denied that any inference is to be drawn from this regarding a friendship between the two poets. So Susemihl writes (*loc. cit.* p. 391): "An eine solche recht kleine (*sc.* Huldigung) konnte höchstens noch allenfalls gedacht werden, wenn andere anklänge an die poesie des Aratos bei Theokritos nachweislich waren; dasz dies aber nicht der fall ist, hat W. dargelegt." v. Wilamowitz, after reviewing certain apparent parallels between Aratus and Theocritus (*loc. cit.*, p. 196) does indeed state categorically: "Apollonius hat die Phainomena studirt, aber Theokrit

hat, so viel wir sehen konnen, keine Notiz von ihnen genommen. Machen wir einen Strich durch alles was wir über die Beziehungen dieser beiden Dichter bisher geglaubt haben." This is echoed by Legrand p. 43: "J'adhere sans restriction au jugement de M. de Wilamowitz: il n'y a dans les Idylles aucune imitation d'Aratus; la complaisance avec laquelle notre poète détaille à plusieurs reprises des aspects des constellations (Id. VII, v. 53-54; Id. XXII, v. 21-22; Id. XXIV, v. 11-12) se rattache à un goût de l'époque, qu' Aratus a flatté, mais qu'il n'a pas créé."

To this matter we may justly devote a few moments' consideration. I may say at the start that I attach little weight to verbal coincidences, and have no desire to bolster up a theory by phrase-hunting. I will point to but a single fact, which seems to me significant,—the manner in which the stars are mentioned in certain of the poems of Theocritus. I have just quoted the verdict of Legrand; but he alludes merely to three passages, and in my opinion gives the question no serious thought. Let us again look at the matter without bias, and with a willingness to recognize probabilities. Between 277 and 274 Aratus published an elaborate astronomical poem, in which particular attention was paid to the practical questions which concern the mariner, rather than to the poetical expression of the awe and wonder born of a contemplation of the stars. In other words, his poem is a sort of "Nautical Almanac" in verse. Now in the poems of Theocritus which may with strong probability be put earlier than this period the stars play no part; but in some of the later poems, VII *e. g.*, XIII, XXII, and XXIV, several passages occur which are strikingly different in this regard, and which suggest Aratus' manner, and, I will add, Aratus' influence.

VII. 52ff. *ἔσσεται Ἀγεάνακτι καλὸς πλόος εἰς Μιτυλήναν,*
χὤταν ἐφ' ἑσπερίοις ἐρίφοις νότος ὑγρὰ διώκῃ
κύματα, χ' Ὡρίων ὅτ' ἐπ' ὠκεανῷ πόδας ἴσχει κτλ.

The positions indicated both for the Kids and for Orion mark the stormy season. We have to do then, not with the poetry of the stars, but with references drawn from them with reference to the weather, —an illustration of the practical side of astronomy, in other words.

XIII. 25ff.

ἅμος δ' ἀντέλλοντι Πελειάδες, ἐσχατιαὶ δέ
ἄρνα νέον βόσκοντι, τετραμμένου εἴαρος ἤδη,
τᾶμος ναυτιλίας μιμνάσκετο θεῖος ἄωτος
ἡρώων κτλ.

The rising of the Pleiades at day-break (heliacal rising) falls in spring—at the end of April. It was the sign of the opening of navigation. Note here how the season is designated both by astronomic and "bucolic" signs.

XIII. 49ff.

κατήριπε δ' ἐς μέλαν ὕδωρ
ἀθρόος, ὡς ὅτε πυρσὸς ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἤριπεν ἀστὴρ
ἀθρόος ἐν πόντῳ, ναύταις δέ τις εἶπεν ἑταίροις
'κουφότερ' ὦ παῖδες ποιεῖσθ' ὅπλα. πλευστικὸς οὖρος.'

Shooting stars betokened a fresh wind according to the ancient view (Aratus 926ff.). Here again, therefore, we have to do with the practical side of the science of the stars; and it is interesting to contrast the reference to the shooting star as a piece of purely poetic imagery (Homer Δ. 75ff.). (If in the present passage the reading of K and Call. be accepted, the meaning of the phrase κουφότερα ποιεῖσθ' ὅπλα must be "shorten sail"; in that case the correct interpretation is made clear by a passage in Aratus 419).

XXII. 8ff. In this passage, which tells how the Dioscuri save mariners from peril, and for which an interesting parallel may be cited from the Homeric Hymn to the Dioscuri (XXXIII. 6ff.), we are concerned only with the phrase, ἄστρα βιαζόμεναι, the ships sail *in defiance of the stars*; hence the mariners' distress.

XXII. 21f.,

ἐκ δ' ἄρκτοι τ' ἐφάνησαν ὄνων τ' ἀνὰ μέσσον ἀμαυρὴ
φάτνη σημαίνουσα τὰ πρὸς πλόον εὔδια πάντα.

These lines describe the clear weather following the storm. The mention of the Crib is of interest; it is visible only in the clearest weather.

XXIV. 11f.,

ἅμος δὲ στρέφεται μεσονύκτιον ἐς δύσιν ἄρκτος
Ὠρίωνα κατ' αὐτόν, ὃ δ' ἀμφαίνει μέγαν ὦμον κτλ.

Here, too, a somewhat exact knowledge of the positions of the constellations is revealed,—a very different thing from mere poetic imagery, or the conventional epic use. This is seen *e. g.* in XXV. 85f.,

ἠέλιος μὲν ἔπειτα ποτὶ ζόφον ἔτραπεν ἵππους
δείελον ἦμαρ ἄγων κτλ.

It is clear that the two things are utterly different.

Now I am not prepared to maintain that a single one of these passages is a reminiscence of any passage in Aratus. These poems come to us from a learned age in which any one might write learnedly. But when we weigh the fact that the passages cited from Theocritus are

one and all from poems later than the publication of Aratus' work; that Aratus devoted his attention primarily to astronomy as bearing upon practical navigation; that it is precisely this feature that strikes us in these Theocritean passages; that in the poems of Theocritus which date from a time before Aratus' work could have come to his notice (XVI. XI, and presumably others of the bucolic pieces) we see nothing of this sort; and finally that on other grounds we have seen reason to assume a connection between the two men, the conclusion appears irresistible that this assumption is well grounded.

There remains one other passage in which some have seen a reference to Aratus, VII. 103 ff. Here Theocritus-Simichidas prays that Pan may grant Aratus the fulfilment of his desires.

τόν μοι Πάν, Ὀμόλας ἐρατὸν πέδον ὅστε λέλογχας κτλ.

Hauler (*De Vita Theocriti,* p. 13) was the first to assume that the mention of Pan in this connection is due to the fact that Aratus (of Soli, of course) had composed a hymn to Pan. This hymn dates from 278 circa, and celebrated the victory of Antigonus over the Celts, a victory due, it was thought, to the help of Pan. This view has been energetically combatted by v. Wilamowitz (*loc. cit.*) and seems gratuitous. It should be noted, however, that Homole is a mountain in Thessaly, and that we have no hint of any connection between it and Pan in any other ancient writer. Hiller suggests that there may have been some mention of the mountain in Aratus' poem; but unless we can bring Homole into connection with Antigonus' campaign against the Celts, this must remain a mere assumption. Such a connection I have sought; but I confess that in the meagre accounts which have come down to us of this period, I have not found it.

Finally the *Syrinx,* which has come down to us among the Theocritean poems, and which, while not of indisputed authenticity, is yet commonly accepted as genuine, is concerned largely with Pan, and a passage in it has seemed to Häberlin (*Carm. Fig. Graec.* p. 55) to contain an allusion to Antigonus. I quote his words: "Pan enim qui in Fistula tantis laudibus celebratur, qui barbaros ex Europa pepulisse dicitur, nemo est nisi Antigonus Gonatas, qui Gallos ad Lysimachiam tanta caede devicit, ut reliqui in Asiam se convertere cogerentur." This may be taken for whatever it may be worth. The tendency on the part of some modern scholars to seek for these hidden allusions in Theocritus is strong; but Häberlin has convinced few, if any. (He holds that Theocritus spent some time at the court of Antigonus before he sought to win the favor of Hiero (275/4). At the same time the assumption

that the *Syrinx* of Theocritus like the hymn of Aratus, may have celebrated the victory of Antigonus, would square well with a supposed allusion to Aratus' hymn in the passage of Idyl VII which we have just been considering.

Another argument which strongly favors the belief that the Aratus of Theocritus was the famous poet may perhaps be based upon the assumed identifications of the personages mentioned in Idyl VII. If the pseudonym Lycidas designates Leonidas of Tarentum (so Legrand, though he has convinced but few, and the identification is most uncertain) and Tityrus designates Alexander of Aetolia (so most scholars after Meineke; but great scepticism now prevails regarding the whole matter); or if on other grounds a connection between Theocritus and these two men is to be assumed; then we may note the following interesting fact: both Leonidas and Alexander stand in close relation to Aratus. Leonidas addressed an epigram to him in praise of his *Phaenomena* (*Anth. Pal.* IX. 25; No. XLIV Geffcken), and Alexander went with him to the court of Antigonus, and must there have been intimately associated with him. We may go further; Callimachus, too, addressed an epigram to Aratus, and, more than that, was his fellow student at Athens. The friendship between these two men is undeniable, and does not rest upon insecure combinations. Now Callimachus and Theocritus were friends, and friends at a date preceding the composition of Idyl VII. We therefore naturally think of the group, Alexander, Leonidas, Aratus, Theocritus and Callimachus as bound together both by ties of literary association and by personal friendship.

It is important now to lay stress upon the fact that the literary friendships that have just been spoken of are to be accepted or rejected quite independently of the theory that there was a bucolic school at Cos under Philetas (circa 295-290), at which time it is difficult to believe that Aratus can have been in Cos. The belief in the existence of this bucolic school, once so wide-spread (see Susemihl's vigorous defence of it in the article in the *Jahrbücher* for 1896, above alluded to), has of late been steadily losing ground, and I myself do not accept it. But a belief in the friendship of the literary men above mentioned, or, to be specific, a belief that Aratus and Theocritus were friends, is in no sense contingent upon a belief in the existence of this (hypothetical) bucolic school. Theocritus is known to have been the friend of Callimachus, Callimachus to have been the friend of Aratus, Leonidas and Alexander to have been friends of Aratus, and very probably friends of Theocritus.

Now as to the time when Theocritus and Aratus may with the highest degree of probability be assumed to have been intimately associated.

Theocritus we know addressed his Χάριτες to Hiero in 275-4. The date has been disputed, but is now accepted by practically all scholars. That he was at that time in Sicily is an assumption so natural as to need no proof. He failed in his attempt to win Hiero's favor, and three or four years later we find him in Alexandria seeking the favor of Ptolemy. We may safely assume then that he turned eastward in 274, resolved to seek another patron, since Hiero had rejected his suit. Now what is more natural than that on his way eastward he should pay a visit to Cos, one of the great literary centres of the day? The statement made in the hypothesis to Idyl VII may be a mere guess, but it is to say the least extremely plausible: *ἐπιδημήσας γὰρ τῇ νήσῳ ὁ Θεόκριτος ὅτε εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον ἀπῄει κτλ.* (See the present writer's paper in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association,* Vol. XXXVII, p. 135ff.). Of the events of the life of Aratus we know all too little that can be considered certain, but one of the incontestable facts is that he left Macedonia, when the literary circle at Pella was broken up by the return of Pyrrhus from Italy, and that he went thence to Syria. Is it not quite within the range of probability that he, too, paid a visit to Cos at this time? We do not *know* that he did, but the facts which we can be said to *know* about the movements of the men of letters of this period are few indeed, and we have, as a rule to be content with probabilities. But note that in a poem, written at a later date, but referring, it seems clear, to this time, Theocritus speaks of a dear friend of his named Aratus, and three years after this begins his Πτολεμαῖος with a quotation from the *Phaenomena* of the poet Aratus. Do not these facts naturally belong together?

We must now ask ourselves whether there are valid counter-arguments, to weaken the force of the facts and inferences with which we have been occupied. Not many concrete arguments against the view that Theocritus' Aratus was the poet have been advanced; it has seemed enough to deny that we have any real proof that he was the poet. Four points may, however, be noticed.

(1) The Aratus of Idyl VII is not spoken of as a poet, though even the insignificant (?) Aristis is characterized by the words,

ὃν οὐδέ κεν αὐτὸς ἀείδειν
Φοῖβος σὺν φόρμιγγι παρὰ τριπόδεσσι μεγαίροι.

But apart from the fact that one who sings of the love affairs of a poet does not necessarily have to mention his poetry, is it not a little absurd to assume that at a date subsequent to the publication of the

Phaenomena it was necessary for Theocritus to assure his readers that Aratus really was a poet?

(2) The name Aratus frequently appears in Coan inscriptions, so that we need not think of the astronomer-poet. True, but does this fact prove that we *may* not think of him, especially if there are valid grounds for assuming that he and Theocritus were friends?

(3) In Idyl VII Aratus is called the ξένος of Simichidas (Theocritus), and is therefore assumed to be a Coan resident. But the word ξένος by no means necessarily means "host"; what if it were Theocritus who entertained Aratus?

(4) Lastly the word Ἄρατος has the initial vowel short in Theocritus, but long in Leonidas and Callimachus (where it refers with certainty to the poet). But the name of the poet has the initial vowel short in Meleager (*Anth. Pal.* IV. 1. 49) and in Strato (*ibid.* XII. 1. 1). Cholmeley is wholly wrong in saying "the name in Theocritus has *ă*: in all Greek mention of the poet *ā*."

But from Homer's Ἄρες, Ἄρες to Horace's Ŏrion by the side of the normal Ōrion a shift of quantity in verse in the case of proper names is so common that this mere fact has but little weight.

It should be said in justice to the eminent scholar whose view this paper seeks to combat, that his argument is based not upon these slight matters alone, but upon a thorough-going and subtle analysis of Idyls VI and VII, which has seemed to many scholars quite convincing. At the same time I must express my own conviction that valid grounds for denying that Theocritus' friend Aratus was the well-known poet have not been advanced, while the grounds advanced in this paper seem to me to give at least a strong presumption that he was the poet.

[*Note*: I have in this paper retained the conventional spelling of the name Philetas. In *Hermes*, 1902, p. 212, Crönert argues for the spelling Philitas.]

THE LAST WORDS OF SHAKESPEARE'S CHARACTERS

ALPHONSO GERALD NEWCOMER

EVIDENCE, in literature, of the interest attaching to the last words of the dying is very old. Andromache (*Iliad*, xxiv. 744) mourns that Hector could not have died upon a bed, speaking to her "some wise word" which she might have cherished in memory. The parting injunction of Socrates, as reported by Plato (*Phaedo*, 118), was, "Crito, I owe a cock to Asclepius; will you remember to pay the debt?" Though the import of these words is doubtful, it is hard to resist the inference that Socrates wished to signify, by this tribute to the Great Healer, that he was about to be healed of his wound of living.

Shakespeare has left some direct testimony on this subject in *Richard II* (II, i, 5):

> *Gaunt.* O, but they say the tongues of dying men
> Enforce attention like deep harmony.

As a dramatist, moreover, dealing ideally with tragic death—death, that is to say, as an end of action or character, and not simply of life—Shakespeare had a peculiar opportunity for making effective the *novissima verba*. Yet not the least interesting result of a study of Shakespeare's practice in this respect is the realization that he is seldom so false to life or his art as to seek effectiveness for its own sake. The man who could write, for humorous or satirical purposes, the ridiculous mock-heroics of Pyramus and Thisbe ("O Fates, come, come," etc., *M. N. D.*, V, i, 290) was fairly safe from descending to the theatrical in serious situations. He allows John of Gaunt, who has been quoted just above, to dally at some length with figures of setting suns and withered flowers, and to quibble grimly on his name; but this is in a very early play, when the poet in Shakespeare was still contending with the dramatist. Richard the Second's theatrical end (V, v, 112) is so much in keeping with that king's character that it is not to be wholly ascribed to the dramatist's earlier manner:

> *Rich.* Mount, mount, my soul! thy seat is up on high;
> Whilst my gross flesh sinks downward, here to die.

Nevertheless, the manner was soon discarded. Rhyme, for instance, at the end of speeches, was a thoroughly established convention the artificiality of which was hardly felt, yet from nearly all the greatest death-scenes rhyme is absent. Outside of the English chronicle plays and *Timon of Athens,* all either early or doubtfully Shakespeare's, there are but four instances. Two are in *Julius Caesar* (Titinius, Brutus), which is the earliest of the Roman plays. Macbeth's last words are rhymed, but they are not dying words at all. In the fourth case, Othello's, there is the ecstasy of love seeking reunion in death, and the lyric note quite justifies itself (V, ii, 358):

> *Othello.* I kiss'd thee ere I kill'd thee: no way but this,
> Killing myself, to die upon a kiss.

In this, as in some other respects, the chronicle plays evince a less perfect freedom on the part of the dramatist, a consciousness as of something being staged rather than of life determining its own issues.

In the plays altogether, some seventy characters die. About one fifth of these are unimportant—servants, it may be, or soldiers, who, like Salisbury and Gargrave in *1 Henry VI,* utter nothing more significant than "O Lord, have mercy on us!" A few others are taken by surprise and allowed short shrift. Polonius, whose reflections would scarcely have been edifying anyway, says merely, "O, I am slain!" Even Hamlet's mother is granted but the one cry of natural affection which shows where her loyalty lay at the last: "O my dear Hamlet,— The drink, the drink! I am poisoned." Several of the most touching deaths are reported, not exhibited. Such is that of Ophelia, who died swan-like, floating down the stream and chanting "snatches of old tunes"; her last words on the stage had been, very fittingly, a prayer for mercy on "all Christian souls, . . . God buy ye." Falstaff returned to the innocence of childhood, and, if Theobald's emendation is unassailable, "babbled of green fields." Cordelia's body is brought lifeless on the stage; perhaps she and her father had beguiled the hours in prison with singing, and telling "old tales." Lady Macbeth's last appearance is in delirium. Again, several of the characters who meet death unexpectedly do not speak after the mortal stroke. Their last words have, of course, no significance as such, unless the dramatist chooses to give them an unconscious significance, after the familiar *eironeia* of Greek tragedy. There may be an example of this in *Troilus and Cressida* (V, viii, 3) where Hector, weary of slaughter, puts off his helmet, saying, "Now is my day's work done; I'll take good breath." Or Macbeth may be ironi-

cally made to pronounce his own eternal doom, when he cries (V, viii, 33):

> *Macbeth.* Lay on, Macduff,
> And damn'd be him that first cries, "Hold, enough!"

Yet it is not likely. It is not easy to imagine Shakespeare breaking his reserve in a situation like this and giving such a palpable wink to the audience. What may have been Macbeth's consciously final thoughts, we are not told; and there is the same silence in the case of three other arch-criminals, Richard Third, Claudius, and Iago.

These cases aside, there remain about forty characters of varying importance whose last words are more or less consciously shaped by the knowledge of approaching dissolution. The words run through pretty much the whole gamut of what might be expected in actual conditions, from prayer to prophecy, from curses to blessings, from rebellious outcries to resignation or even rapturous joy. No one knew better than Shakespeare the incalculable ways of the human spirit, or has portrayed them with greater daring. This may be illustrated by the strong contrast in his treatment of two not very dissimilar deaths—Hotspur's in *1 Henry IV,* and Mercutio's in *Romeo and Juliet.* Courageous men both, full of the lust of life, proud, chivalrous, they are suddenly confronted with the great arrest. Hotspur falls to moralizing in a lofty strain (V, iv, 77):

> *Hot.* O, Harry, thou hast robb'd me of my youth!
> I better brook the loss of brittle life
> Than those proud titles thou hast won of me.
> They wound my thoughts worse than thy sword my flesh.
> But thought's the slave of life, and life time's fool;
> And time, that takes survey of all the world,
> Must have a stop.

Though a little declamatory in tone, the words are dramatically true. To the impetuous soldier, checked thus in mid career, one of the sorest pangs of death lay in its arrest of action. Yet, with the wisdom to universalize that arrest, he reconciles himself, and us, to the pang. In a very different tone and to a very different effect, though apparently with no less dramatic truth, the wounded Mercutio rails (*R. and J.,* III, i, 96):

> *Mer.* Ay, ay, a scratch, a scratch; marry, 'tis enough. . . . No, 'tis not so deep as a well, nor so wide as a church-door; but 'tis enough, 'twill serve. Ask for me to-morrow, and you shall find me a grave man. I am pepper'd, I warrant, for this world. A plague o' both your houses! 'Zounds, a dog, a rat, a mouse, a cat, to scratch a man to death!

Mercutio will not be reconciled, and he pours out the bitterness of his soul. Yet through it shines the contempt of a noble spirit for the pettiness of the toils in which Fate stoops to entrap us, a fine scorn for the order of things in which so slight a cause can bring such seemingly disproportionate results. Bitter as the words are, there is a banter in the tone that saves them from any suspicion of a whine, and he dies the gallant Mercutio still.

Dramatic truth is of course not necessarily opposed to self-expression, and it is scarcely to be denied that Shakespeare often reveals himself in his work, were we only discerning enough to know when. In the words of Mercutio above, one may very well read something of the dramatist's own intellectual bewilderment over the mysteries of existence, along with an emotional poise that can make light of the puzzle. Again, one may suspect a more than ordinary sensitiveness to the sadness of the unfulfilled promises of life, from the frequency with which this note is sounded. Observe Hotspur's "O, Harry, thou hast robb'd me of my youth!" Oswald exclaims, "O, untimely death!" And there are a dozen such mourners' comments as "How sweet a plant have you untimely cropp'd," and "Death lies on her like an untimely frost." One is tempted, too, to see something more than mere historical or dramatic truth in the fact that suicide, which is approved in the Roman plays, is elsewhere a very doubtful virtue. To Titinius it is "the Roman's part," to Cleopatra "the high Roman fashion." But Horatio, when he contemplates it, must half deny his race: "I am more an antique Roman than a Dane." Hamlet is convinced that the Almighty has "fixed his canon" against it. Macbeth flatly pronounces it cowardice or folly: "Why should I play the Roman fool?" And Gloucester protests that only intolerable suffering could make him "fall to quarrel" with the gods' "great opposeless wills." But to attempt to draw conclusions about Shakespeare's personal character or beliefs is a delicate task; we are much more safe in keeping to observations upon his art.

There are limits to Shakespeare's variety. The chronicle plays disclose, in the death scenes, some similarities that may almost be felt to constitute a mannerism. Compare with the words of King Richard ("Mount, mount, my soul," see above) these of young Arthur (*K. John* IV, iii, 19):

> Heaven take my soul, and England keep my bones;

and these of the Duke of York (*3 Henry VI*, I, iv, 168):

> My soul to heaven, my blood upon your heads!

There are three separate declarations that death is not the worst of evils:

> *Hotspur.* I better brook the loss of brittle life
> Than those proud titles thou hast won of me.
> —*1 King Henry IV,* V, iv, 78.

> *Clifford.* O Lancaster, I fear thy overthrow
> More than my body's parting with my soul!
> —*3 K. Henry VI,* II, vi, 3.

> *K. Henry.* My breast can better brook thy dagger's point
> Than can my ears that tragic history.
> —*Idem,* V, vi, 27.

It is to be remembered, of course, that in some of the chronicle plays we cannot always be sure that we have Shakespeare's untrammeled hand; he may be the reviser only, or sometimes not even that. The interesting thing, however, to note is that when we come to the tragedies proper, which are all later, we do not find anything approaching these similarities. Laertes and Antony both say "I can no more," but this is altogether too slight a thing to attach any importance to. It is clear that the maturing of the dramatist's powers brought with it no tendency to fix or harden, but always a wider outlook, a more perfect freedom.

Note another fact. In the chronicle plays the sufferers remark rather minutely upon their bodily symptoms. Clifford says (*3 Henry VI,* II, vi, 27): "The air hath got into my deadly wounds, And much effuse of blood doth make me faint." Henry Fourth speaks of his "wasted lungs," Mortimer of his "fading breath" and "fainting words;" York says, "I am faint;" Warwick says (*3 Henry VI,* V, ii, 7):

> My mangled body shows,
> My blood, my want of strength, my sick heart shows
> That I must yield my body to the earth.

Now in the major tragedies there is practically none of this self-diagnosis. Shakespeare came to see that such words have no place in a really moving tragic scene. A striking corroboration is afforded by *Hamlet.* In the early draft of that play found in the 1603 quarto, very imperfectly printed and in all probability garbled, Hamlet's last words are:

> O, my heart sinks, Horatio.
> Mine eyes have lost their sight, my tongue his use:
> Farewell, Horatio! Heaven receive my soul.

This indeed is not Hamlet—it might be anybody. In the revised and

enlarged version these lines disappear. For the diagnosis we have merely "The potent poison quite o'er-crows my spirit;" and in place of the conventional prayer, the simple and impressive "The rest is silence."

Hamlet. O, I die, Horatio;
The potent poison quite o'er-crows my spirit.
I cannot live to hear the news from England,
But I do prophesy the election lights
On Fortinbras; he has my dying voice.
So tell him, with the occurrents, more and less,
Which have solicited. The rest is silence.

—V, ii, 363.

Over "more and less" death draws the veil, and Hamlet, like Mercutio, dies Hamlet still.

Whether Hamlet meant to add to the word "solicited" any object not virtually contained in it, thus leaving the sentence unfinished, cannot certainly be determined. But, though many modern editions punctuate with a dash, Shakespeare's practice seems to be rather against such a construction. There seems to be only one certain instance of it: Hotspur, whose reflections were partly quoted above, concludes with a broken sentence addressed to himself, "No, Percy, thou art dust, And food for—" which Prince Hal completes—"For worms, brave Percy." Cleopatra's last words, "What [= why] should I stay," are logically complete notwithstanding Charmian's continuation of "In this vile world." More natural, perhaps, than the abruptly broken speech, certainly more effective, are those cases in which the last utterance contracts to an exclamation or wanders into repetition and semi-articulateness. Thus, for instance, Mercutio, to the last throb of his vigorous life, ejaculates his surprise and indignation: "A plague of both your houses! They have made worms' meat of me. I have it, and soundly too. Your houses!" And Cleopatra, applying the asps, sinks in a euthanasia, crooning as it were her own lullaby (V, ii, 311):

Cleo. Peace, peace!
Dost thou not see my baby at my breast,
That sucks the nurse asleep?
As sweet as balm, as soft as air, as gentle,—
O Antony!—Nay, I will take thee too:
What should I stay—"

The figures under which the dying speak of life and death are interesting, though perhaps in no wise instructive. The following will illustrate:

(Hour-glass)

York. The sands are numbered that make up my life.
—*3 Henry VI,* I, iv, 25.

(Lamp)

Clifford. Here burns my candle out.—*3 Henry VI,* II, vi, 1.
(Compare Macbeth's "Out, out, brief candle!")
Antony. The torch is out.—*A. and C.,* IV, xiv, 46.

(Voyage)

K. John. The tackle of my heart is crack'd and burn'd,
And all the shrouds wherewith my life should sail
Are turned to one thread, one little hair.
—*K. John,* V, vii, 52.

Romeo. Thou desperate pilot, now at once run on
The dashing rocks thy sea-sick weary bark!
—*R. and J.,* V, iii, 117.

Othello. Here is my journey's end, here is my butt
And very sea-mark of my utmost sail.
—*Othello,* V, ii, 267.

Kent. I have a journey, sir, shortly to go.
—*King Lear,* V, iii, 321.

These are, of course, the commonplaces of poetry, though sometimes marked with Shakespeare's peculiar transmuting power. But more touching, one feels, than deliberate or conventional figures, are those remoter metaphors and euphemisms beneath which the coming doom is sometimes veiled. Though apparently employed only by minor characters, they carry a most effective challenge to the imagination. Thus Iras says (*A. and C.,* V, ii, 193):

Iras. Finish, good lady; the bright day is done,
And we are for the dark.

And Charmian, to whom Cleopatra had promised "I'll give thee leave to play till doomsday," addresses her dead mistress (V, ii, 321):

Char. "Your crown's awry;
I'll mend it and then play—"

With these, as similarly significant, I should unhesitatingly place the last words of Lear's Fool, who disappears in the middle of the play. Says Lear, "We'll go to supper in the morning," and the Fool responds (III, vi, 92):

Fool. And I'll go to bed at noon.

Indeed, it is not impossible that behind Lear's words themselves lay, in Shakespeare's mind, the thought which he had brought out in *Hamlet* when Hamlet says Polonius is "at supper"—"not where he eats, but where he is eaten." One can conceive of the poet's delighting in this *eironeia* even though he should not expect the audience to understand it.

The typical death in the chronicle plays is a Christian death, with thoughts fixed on heaven, divine pardon, and the soul's peace. In the other tragedies, including the distinctly Christian play of *Hamlet,* and *Romeo and Juliet* with its "ghostly confessor," these things color very little or not at all the actual final scenes. In the latter play, the dominating thought is of "triumphant death," of the all-devouring grave, and abode with worms.

> *Romeo.* Here, here will I remain
> With worms that are thy chamber-maids; O, here
> Will I set up my everlasting rest,
> And shake the yoke of inauspicious stars
> From this world-wearied flesh.
> —V. iii, 108.

Yet the scenes are quite purged of sordid passions. Perhaps the nearest approach to selfish interests is in Brutus's and Antony's very Roman concern for glory; even so, love, which is by no means to be regarded as selfish, divides with glory the conflict in Antony's breast. In the thoughts of Romeo, Juliet, Cleopatra, and Desdemona, love reigns almost sole; and even with Othello love rises above the bitterness of his tragic fate. Lear's last thoughts are centred upon Cordelia. Hamlet thinks first of his good report and last of the kingdom. Laertes begs for Hamlet's forgiveness, and Enobarbus despairs of Antony's; Edmund vainly endeavors to make amends to Lear. Emilia dies full of devotion to Desdemona, as Iras and Charmian to Cleopatra. Thus, though the Christian note be absent, honor (with its counterpart, shame), love, and loyalty, make up a trinity of great and essentially noble passions dominating these spirits in the hour of death.

A COMMENTARY ON VERSES 36-52 OF THE "EXCUSE À ARISTE"

COLBERT SEARLES

ALL students of Corneille know that the *Excuse à Ariste* was written by Corneille, in response to a request for verses for a *chanson* from his correspondent, who is identified by Marty-Laveaux and Gasté[1] with one André de Saint-Denis, a monk of the Couvent des Feuillants de Saint-Mesmin. Few writers on Corneille and the Quarrel of the Cid have failed to cite the verses which the poet inserted, proclaiming his merits as a poet and insisting on the independent methods by which he had won his reputation. It will be convenient for the sake of reference to cite them once more.

Je sçay ce que je vaux, et croy ce qu'on m'en dit
Pour me faire admirer je ne fais point de ligue,
J'ay peu de voix pour moy, mais je les ay sans brigue,
Et mon ambition pour faire plus de bruit
Ne les va point quester de Reduit en Reduit,
Mon travail sans appuy monte sur le Theâtre,
Chacun en liberté l'y blasme ou l'idolâtre,
Là sans que mes amis preschent leurs sentiments
J'arrache quelque fois trop d'applaudissements,
Là content du succès que le merite donne
Par d'illustres avis je n'éblouïs personne
Je satisfaits ensemble et peuple et courtisans
Et mes vers en tous lieux sont mes seuls partisans
Par leur seule beauté ma plume est estimée
Je ne dois qu'à moy seul toute ma Renommée,
Et pense toute fois n'avoir point de rival
A qui je fasse tort en le traittant d'egal.

Even Corneille's champions regretted, or tried to excuse, the "vanity" of these verses.[2] His enemies took advantage of them to throw the

[1] Marty-Laveaux, *Corneille, Gr. Ecri. fr.* III., p. 29; Gasté, *La Querelle du Cid,* Paris, 1898, p. 9 f.

[2] *Le Jugement du Cid composé par un Bourgeois de Paris,* Gasté, *op. cit.,* p. 239 f; *Discours à Cliton sur les Observations du Cid, Ibid.,* p. 241. In Chapelain's

responsibility of precipitating the Quarrel upon the poet himself. Cette scandaleuse lettre (Excuse à Ariste) doit estre appelée vostre pierre d'achopement puisque sans elle ny la *Satyre de l'Espagnol*[3] ny *la Censure de l'Observateur*[4] n'eussent jamais este conçeües.[5] Modern commentators, after repeating these observations or assertions, have contented themselves with ridiculing or condemning, almost without reserve, the poet's rivals for criticizing the verses in question and for taking up the challenge which they contain. Gasté may serve as the spokesman of this view of the case. "If the rivals of Corneille, formerly his friends (*i. e.*, Mairet and Scudéry), but now his enemies, after the success of the Cid, had not been blinded by a ferocious hatred and especially by the basest jealousy, they would have overlooked this piece which, I repeat, was more of a jest than a serious utterance; but sure of pleasing Richelieu, they took in *l'Excuse à Ariste,* only those verses in which half seriously, half playfully Corneille speaks of himself a little too favorably."[6] It is possible that if we had all the facts before us we should see the actions of all parties concerned in a light somewhat different from what they appear under the refracting influences of our admiration for the great poet.

In the *Epistre familier,* his first signed contribution to the Quarrel, Mairet refers to verses 39 ff, in a way to suggest that he had felt from the first in them some reference to himself: Vous sçavez que je suis de ceux qui peuvent avoir entrée en ces lieux d'honneur, à qui vous donnez un si plaisant nom, lors que vous dites en vous mocquant de ceux qui y sont receus: *Et mon ambition etc.*[7] That Mairet's sensitiveness was not unfounded is proven by the first of two replies which this *Epistre familier* called forth: *La Lettre du Des-interesseé au Sieur Mairet,* written by Corneille or one of his friends and almost certainly with his cognizance. S'il est du Parnasse comme du Paradis . . . Tombez d'accord avec tout le monde que vous en estes exclus, si vous ne restituez la plus grande

manuscript of the *Sentiments de l'Académie Françoise sur le Cid* there is also a passage *inédit* which excuses Scudéry for his action in attacking the Cid on the ground of this manifestation of vanity on the part of Corneille. *Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Français,* 15045, pp. 56-57.

[3] *L'Autheur du vray Cid espagnol à son traducteur français.* Gasté, *op. cit.,* 67 f.

[4] *Observations sur le Cid* (Scudéry) *Ibid.,* 71 ff.

[5] *Epistre familier du Sieur Mayret, Ibid.,* p. 291.

[6] Admiration for Corneille, the entirely different modern point of view, a sense of repulsion before the gross violence which characterized the quarrel of the Cid, are the reasons doubtless of this almost universal tendency to overlook the faults of Corneille, while condemning those of his rivals.

[7] Gasté, *op. cit.,* p. 288.

partie de vostre reputation, à un maistre (le Comte de Belin) qui par excez de bonté ne s'est pas contenté de vous recevoir chez luy genereusement au fort de vos miseres: Mais qui par son approbation, et par l'honneur qu'il vous a fait en vous regardant d'assez bon oeil, *a obligé tous ses amis à dire du bien de vos ouvrages*: c'est de luy seul que vous tenez le peu d'estime que vous possedez; non du merite de vos oeuvres, qui ne sont pas si parfaits, que tout le monde n'y ait remarqué de grands deffauts.[8] The second reply, *Advertissement au Besançonnois Mairet* which is generally attributed to Corneille himself, is still more explicit upon this point. Nous voyons maintenant ce qui vous picque, vous vous fachez, *de ce qu'on a découvert vos brigues, et les artifices que vous mettez en usage pour mandier un peu de reputation,* vous vous plaignez de ce que dit M. Corneille: Que son ambition etc. . . . *On sçait le petit commercc que vous pratiquez, et que vous n'avez point d'applaudissemens que vous ne gaigniez à force de Sonnets et de reverences. Si vous, envoyiez vos pieces de Besançon, comme Mr. Corneille envoye les siennes de Roüen, sans interesser personne en leur succez, vous tomberiez bien bas, et je m'asseure que quelque adresse que vous apportiez à faire valoir vostre traduction du Solyman Italien, qui a desja couru les ruelies dix-huict mois,* et qu'on reserve pour cet hyver, le bruit de cette importante piece de batterie ne fera point faire retraitte au Cid.[9]

Scudéry had quite as much reason as Mairet for seeing in these verses a very thinly veiled allusion to his practices. It was with his *Amant Libéral* that the Hôtel de Bourgogne strove to compete with the Cid triumphant at the Théâtre du Marais.[10] At the time when the *Excuse à Ariste* was being printed, Scudéry had two volumes in press:[11] one containing *La Mort de César* and a collection of miscellaneous poems in praise of the King and Richelieu, to whom the whole is dedicated; the other volume contained the *Didon* and was dedicated to the Comte de Belin, who was second only to Richelieu as a patron of the theater. Now the *Didon,* as its author admits, had been rather cooly received. In the dedicatory epistle Scudéry complains of the attacks of envious rivals, quite as bitterly as Corneille does in the *Excuse à Ariste,* and bespeaks the support of his patron. He was moreover cultivating the Count's friendship very assiduously in other ways. On the 22nd of February

[8] Gasté, *op. cit.*, p. 317. The italics in this and other citations of this paper are mine.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 324 f.

[10] See: *L'Inconnu et Veritable Amy de Messieurs de Scudery et Corneille,* Gasté *op. cit.*, p. 156.

[11] The privilege of both volumes is dated May 1636 but they did not appear in print till about the middle of the following year.

Chapelain wrote to the Comte de Belin: M. et Mlle de Scudéry sont icy *qui se tuent de publier vos generosités et vos courtoìsies,* dont je suis extremement satisfait.[12] Under these conditions there was something more than badinage in verses like: *Par d'illustres advis je n'éblouïs personne,* or, if there was not, Mairet and Scudéry may well be pardoned for thinking there was. All the facts brought out in the documents above cited must have been perfectly well known to the literary public of the time, and a considerable portion of this public can hardly have failed to see in these very clear insinuations, an attack by Corneille upon the artistic integrity of his two most important rivals. From this point of view, it is unjust to both Scudéry and Mairet to attribute their action solely to the promptings of *"la plus basse jalousie."* The methods of securing support and patronage which they had put in practice were quite in vogue and they could hardly fail to resent the allegations of their rival.

But was it merely vanity or *"commodité de la rime"* (*Discours à Cliton*) which led Corneille to indulge in this unfortunate expression of his sentiments? To the poet of Rouen whose works had to stand or fall on their merits, these manoeuvres of his rivals in Paris must have been a source of considerable irritation. There are at least two other causes which may have contributed to his dissatisfaction.

On the 15th of February, 1637, Chapelain writes a letter to Mlle. Paulet, reporting the results of an interview which he has had with Desmarests de Saint-Sorlin, in accordance with the wishes of his correspondent: Suyvant donc vos ordres, je vis hier M. Desmarests, auquel j'eus à peine proposé de vostre part le retranchement des vers dont M. Scudéry avoit esté choqué, qu'il me respondit de galand homme, que non seulement il les rayeroit pour l'amour de ceux qui y prenoient interest, mais encore osteroit ceux du *Cid* qui avoient causé ce petit scandale.[13] It is evident from the context of the letter that Desmarests had, in the *Visionnaires,* put in the mouth of one of his characters (Sestiane) a comparison setting the *Cid* above his own *Aspasie,* (1636) and a play of Scudéry's—doubtless *L'Amant Libéral.* As the passage quoted indicates, Desmarests was quite willing to put an end to the discussion (*toute cette liderie*) which this comparison had caused and the affair seemed to be settled to the satisfaction of all parties concerned. On the 6th of March Chapelain felt justified in writing to Balzac: Vous sçavez que mon exercice joyeux du Carnival a esté d'accomoder *une guerre dans sa naissance* entre les seconds poètes, qui vous firent un esclaircissement l'année passée, (?) et M. Desmarests, auquel ces Mess-

[12] *Lettres,* Ed. Tamizey de Larroque, Paris 1880, I, p. 134.
[13] *Lettres,* I, p. 137.

ieurs à ma diligence ont fait reformer quelques endroits d'une comédie qu'il a donnée au public et où il estoit parlé d'eux et de leurs ouvrages moins dignement qu'ils ne croyent meriter.[14] Now this bit of diplomacy on the part of Chapelain cost Corneille a very flattering bit of public recognition, and the result must have been much less satisfactory to him than to any of the other parties concerned.

In his contributions to the Quarrel of the Cid, Mairet has much to say of the debt which Corneille's masterpiece owed to the actors who presented it, and Scudéry touches upon this point in his *Lettre à l'Illustre Académie*.[15] This allegation is probably not the afterthought which it has generally been represented to be. In 1636 there appeared in Paris, *La Suitte de la Seconde Partie des Lettres de M. de Balzac*.[16] Among these letters there is one addressed to Boisrobert, in which the Sage of Charente and literary oracle of his day gives the following appreciation of the art of Mondory, who played the role of the Cid: Il est certain que la grace dont il prononce les Vers leur donne un degré de beauté qu'ils ne peuvent recevoir des Poëtes. Ils ont bien plus d'obligation à celuy qui les récite qu'à celuy qui les a faits, et ce second père, pour le dire ainsi, les purge de taus les vices de leur naissance. Le son de sa voix, accompagné de la dignité de ses gestes annoblit les plus vulgaires et les plus viles conceptions. Il n'est point d'ame si bien fortifiée contre les objets des sens, à qui il ne face violence, ny de jugement si fin et si preparé, qui se puisse garantir de l'imposture de sa parole. De sorte que s'il y a en ce monde quelque souverain bien pour les vers, il faut avoüer qu'elle est dans sa bouche et dans son récit, et que comme les mauvaises choses y prennent l'apparence du bien, les bonnes y trouvent leur perfection.[17] Marty-Laveaux in this connection cites only the in-folio edition of *Les Oeuvres* de Balzac (1665), and apparently overlooked this special edition of 1636, which permits him to assert: La date de ces réflexions de Balzac ne permet pas de les appliquer au Cid.[18] They were newly acquired public property when the Cid appeared, and jealous rivals of the poet were doubtless quick to avail themselves of this powerful auxiliary. Mairet was probably not the first to make use of them, when he declared in his *Epistre Familier*: C'est proprement du *Cid* et des pieces de telle nature que Monsieur de Balzac a voulu parler en la derniere de ses dernieres lettres, quand il a dit du Roscius Auvergnac,

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[14] *Lettres*, I, p. 139.

[15] Gasté, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

[16] The *Achevé d'imprimer* is dated the 26th of February, 1636.

[17] *Op. cit.*, I, 322.

[18] *Op. cit.*, III, 9, 1 (footnote)

que si les vers ont quelque souverain bien c'est dans sa bouche qu'ils en jouyssent, qu'ils sont plus obligez à celuy qui les dit qu'à celuy qui les a faits, et bref qu'il en est le second et meilleur pere, d'autant que par une favorable adoption il les purge par maniere de dire des vices de leur naissance.[19] At any rate the concentrated irritation of Corneille's reply suggests very clearly that it was not the first time that this altogether extravagant and unjust claim had come to his ears: Criez tant qu'il vous plaira, et donnez aux acteurs ce qui n'est deu qu'au Poete, servez vous du tesmoignage de Mr. de Balzac il ne vous sera point advantageux, ne traite-t-il pas Massinisse et Brutus de mesme que Jason qu'il nomme le premier, pour monstrer qu'il estime plus son Autheur que vous.[20] It is very likely that the verses: *Par leur seule beauté ma plume est estimée, Je ne dois qu'à moy seul toute ma Renommée,* have no wider significance than a reply to the insinuations which this letter of Balzac seemed to authorize.

While both Mairet and Scudéry could very reasonably feel that verses 37-50 were directed against them in common, the latter had some reason for seeing a special challenge to himself in the last two cited (51 and 52). It is too generally forgotten that the piece with which the Hôtel de Bourgogne strove to compete with the Théâtre du Marais and the *Cid* was precisely a play of Scudéry's, *L'Amant Libéral.* The letter of Chapelain to Mlle. Paulet, cited above, shows that early in this competition a comparisom had been made, in the manuscript at least, of the *Visionnaires,* a comparison which, Desmarests asserted, had been suggested to him by another;[21] that out of this discussion there had arisen "a little scandal" and considerable wrangling (toute cette liderie) and that Chapelain had, as he thought, put an end to this "guerre dans sa naissance." All this is very evidently in Corneille's mind when he declares in his Lettre Apologitique: Il n'est pas question de scavoir de combien vous estes noble ou plus vaillant que moy, pour juger de combien le Cid est meilleur que l'Amant Liberal.[22] Now it was in the midst of this effervescence that the provocative verses:

Et pense toute fois n'avoir point de rival
A qui je fasse tort en le traittant d'égal,

came to fall, and *L'Inconnu et Veritable Amy de Messieurs de Scudéry et Corneille* evidently voices the opinion of a considerable number, when he

[19] Gasté, *op. cit.,* p. 289 f.
[20] *Ibid.,* p. 325.
[21] Chapelain, *Letters,* I, p. 137.
[22] Gasté, *op. cit.,* p. 147.

declares: on trouve fort estrange que Monsieur Corneille, qui est sage, et doit estre sans presomption et vaine gloire, voulust pretendre un degré de preeminence audessus de Monsieur de Scudery, qui a fait une infinité des plus beaux Poëmes qui se jouënt à present sur le Theatre.[23] And in the passage *inédit*, above cited (page 2, note 1), of Chapelain's manuscript of the *Sentiments de l'Académie Françoise*, we find this excuse for Scudéry: Nous l'en trouvous d'autant moins blasmable qu'il n'estoit hors de propos que la vanité à laquelle le Poëte s'estoit laissé emporter fust un peu mortifiée, et qu'ayant usé peu modestement de sa bonne fortune il se trouvast quelqu'un assés interessé à son abbaissement (var. humiliation) pour ne le luy pas pardonner de s'estre si fort eslevé au dessus des autres. Under these circumstances it is not difficult to understand the action of Scudéry, and there is little reason for questioning the sincerity of his claim in the *Lettre à l'Illustre Académie*: Il suffit qu'on sçache que le sujet qui m'a fait escrire est equitable, et qu'il n'ignore pas luy-mesme, que j'ay raison d'avoir escrit. (1) At any rate Scudéry receives a justification from no less a contemporary personage than Chapelain, not only in the passage just cited, but also in a private letter written to Balzac the 13th of June, 1637. En Italie, il (le Cid) eust passé pour barbare et il n'y a point d'Académie qui ne l'eust banni des confins de sa jurisdiction; ce qui a donné beau jeu à Mr. de Scudéry, corrival de Corneille, de luy opposer les fautes que vous verrés remarqués dans le volume que je vous envoye. . . . Maintenant ces chaleurs de poëtes nous embarassent, car Scudéry, *se tenant fort de la verité*, a retenu pour juge du différent la noble Académie dont vous estes un des principau membres.[24]

[23] Gasté, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

[24] *Letters*, I, 156.

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